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A MEMORIAL OF THE *REFORMATION* (Chiefly in ENGLAND) AND OF *Britain's* Deliverances FROM Popery and Arbitrary-Power,

Since that Time, to the Year, M DCC XIX.

Wherein is Contain'd,

Some Account of the Apoſtacy of the CHURCH in its Riſe and Progreſs, till POPERY was Eſtabliſhed in the World.

The State of the *Reformation* under King HENRY VIII. EDWARD VI. and Queen ELIZABETH: With the Principles and Endeavours of thoſe that have from time to time ſtood for a further *Reformation*; as a ſhort Hiſtory of *Nonconformity*,

A Particular Relation of all the Plots and Conſpiracies of *Papiſts* and others againſt the *Reformation*, and CIVIL LIBERTIES of the LAND: Some ſhort *Memoirs* of the CIVIL WAR in King *CHARLES* the Firſt's Time; And a diſtinct Anſwer to the Queſtion, *Who Cut off the* KING's HEAD?

By BENJAMIN BENNET.

Then Samuel *took a Stone, and ſet it between* Mizpeh *and* Shen, *and called the Name thereof* Eben-Ezer, *ſaying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.* 1 SAM. vii. 12.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

3 Nk

To the Right Honourable

JOHN

Lord Viſcount BARRINGTON of *ARDGLASS*,

AND

Baron BARRINGTON of *Newcaſtle* in the Kingdom of *IRELAND*.

My LORD,

IS not my Deſign, in prefixing your Lordſhip's Name to theſe Papers, to tell the World the Deference I, and many better Judges, pay to your Lordſhip's Character; your known Zeal for the Liberties of your

Country, both Civil and Religious (a Subject this Book is concern'd with) might direct the Dedication to your Lordſhip, had I no other Motive to it, as your Candour and Goodneſs encourage me to make it.

YOUR Lordſhip's Friends ſee, with Pleaſure, a wiſe and good Prince acknowledge, in your late Honour and Advancement, your firm Adherence to the Intereſt of the Publick, and your Integrity and Steddineſs in ſerving it; even to the Neglect of your own private Intereſt (too rare a Virtue in our Times!) and 'tis not doubted your Lordſhip will farther convince the World his Majeſty has not miſplaced his Favours.

SOME late Occurrences, among a Body of Men, whoſe Principles have recommended them to your good Opinion and Countenance, and the healing Part you was pleas'd to take in their unhappy Debates, have, I am ſenſible, drawn upon you a great deal of unkind and undeſerved Cenſure: But as you have herein acted in perfect Conſiſtency with your own and their avow'd Principles, and in Defence of them; your Zeal in this Matter,

ter, if it has made you ſome Enemies, has, I doubt not, added to the Number of your Friends, and rais'd you the more in their Eſteem; who can't but think (I ſpeak what I know of ſeveral) that had the prudent, pacifick Meaſures been purſu'd, in which your Lordſhip is ſaid to have had ſo great an hand, many Miſchiefs might have been prevented; *We had enjoy'd more Peace, and probably not leſs Truth.*

THE Charge of Arianiſm, advanced againſt your Lordſhip, and ſo induſtriouſly ſpread, eſpecially in this Part of the Country, with deſign to prejudice you in an Affair depending, has, I apprehend, two great Faults in it; *'Tis not true,* which I can ſay upon good Authority, having heard your Lordſhip declare, you was in your ſettled Judgment againſt Arianiſm: *And 'tis nothing to the purpoſe,* if true; doth not at all concern the Merits of the Cauſe, it is brought to influence. We don't chuſe Parliament-Men to make or correct Creeds, but to be Guardians of our civil Liberties; and as your worſt Enemies can't deny your Lordſhip to be qua-

lified in that reſpect, even to a degree of Eminency, what your particular Sentiments are in ſome of the Controverſies of Religion is wholly out of the Queſtion; and I ſhould be ſorry, for the Sake of the Electors, ſhould your Lordſhip find it neceſſary to vindicate yourſelf, againſt any Aſperſions of this kind, in order to ſecure your Intereſt with them; for that muſt unavoidably (tho' your Lordſhip mean not ſo) derive Reproach upon them, and arraign their Judgments as a ſort of weak Men, and very unskilful in Characters; as if it ſhould be objected againſt a General of conſummate Courage and Conduct, *that he is not a good Metaphyſician, or doth not underſtand the* Hebrew *Points.*

I ſpeak not this from an Apprehenſion that your Lordſhip has any Opinions in Religion that render you obnoxious, or that you need be ſhy of owning upon proper Occaſions. I have reaſon to think you have examin'd Religion, and form'd your Creed with ſome Care and Exactneſs: In the mean time, what have the Voters at *B*-------*k* to do in this Matter? I cannot diſcern the Obli-

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gation we are under, even in religious Societies and Churches, to pry into our Brethren's Sentiments, especially in the abstruser Questions of Religion; in which most of them, I am confident, must, upon Examination, if they answer uprightly, return a *Non Liquet*: And, I must confess, when I see any busy this Way, making a Scrutiny into other Christians Breasts, and going about in quest of Hereticks, I presently have the Idea of an old *Rabbi* starting up before me, or of a *Pharisæus truncatus*, or some such Composition of Pride, Self-sufficiency and Censoriousness; and when this is done in any of the διάνοια of Religion, as is often the Case, in things which it has pleas'd God in his Wisdom to place out of our reach, the ἄῤῥητα ῥήματα of the divine Nature and Government, 'tis more assuming and dangerous: But when we carry the Humour into Politicks, and are for making our own Opinions and Dictates, not only the Test of other People's Orthodoxy, but of their Qualification for a civil Trust, the Usurpation is still worse.

NOT that I think Religion no Ingredient in the Character of a Patriot: 'Tis the chief Ornament and Glory of every Man in every Station. He that truly fears his God, will not baſely betray his Country. Nor do I in the leaſt ſuſpect your Lordſhip's Religion or Orthodoxy. I am perſuaded, ſhould Religion be the Teſt, and the Want of it a Mark of Excluſion from the Parliament-Houſe, your Lordſhip would be one of the laſt (pardon this Indecency) that would loſe his Seat there: But I ſtill apprehend and preſume to ſay, this Matter lies out of the way of thoſe who moſt forwardly concern themſelves in it. That you be a good Chriſtian, is of infinite Conſequence to your ſelf; that you love your Country and be faithful to your Truſt (of which you have given abundant Evidence) is ſufficient for your Electors: And was I one of the Number, as I ſhould look upon my ſelf highly indebted to you for the many good Services you have render'd your Country and Corporation, and value you for your excellent political Principles, ſo I ſhould think you not a little recommended

commended by your religious Ones; particularly (which I take to be an eminent Character for a Legiſlator) that you are againſt any Laws that may fetter the Conſciences of Chriſt's Diſciples, but would leave them in a free and undiſturb'd Subjection to their own Maſter.

THIS is your Lordſhip's known Principle, which you have publickly avow'd, and ſtrenuouſly maintain'd; and having mention'd it as ſuch, I can't but congratulate your Lordſhip and the Age upon the generous Efforts that have of late been made in favour of it, by ſome great Men of the eſtabliſh'd Church, as well as by others: It has been ſo ſtated, *as the Cauſe of the Reformation and of Chriſtianity*; and ſo defended, that one would have hoped, nothing was farther neceſſary to its Succeſs, but the divine Bleſſing, and a little more Time, for Men to open their Eyes, and ſee Truth triumphing before them. And it is really ſurprizing, that any Check ſhould be given to theſe Endeavours by genuine Proteſtants; and it would be yet more ſurprizing, ſhould this

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be done by any of these, who hereby, in the directest manner, sap their own Foundation, I mean, the Dissenters. Either every Man must judge for himself in Matters of Religion, or not. If not, How come we to assume this Liberty, to appeal from those who would impose upon us, to Christ the Lord of Conscience? Appeal from the Decisions of Men, to the Laws and Gospel of Christ, which at the same time we take upon us to interpret for ourselves? This has hitherto been the Rock on which the Dissenters stand; their impregnable Fort, which they never have been, and never can be beat from, unless they betray themselves, and give it up: And if this be our Right as Christians, it is every Christian's Right; and how inconsistent would it be for us, who need it, and claim it for ourselves, to deny it to others!

I shall not at present touch the Controversy, of late reviv'd in this Nation; which was begun in the establish'd Church, carried amongst the Dissenters, and continues among both; and which has occasion'd so much

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Reſentment and Anger. I ſhall only ſay, that as I know not your Lordſhip's Sentiments with reference thereto (any further than intimated) ſo I have preſum'd to addreſs you upon this Occaſion, as taking no part in it but that of a Mediator; whom I apprehend to have interpos'd, not only upon an innocent, but a moſt friendly Deſign; and for which I have Leave to pay you, with my own, the Acknowledgments of ſeveral others, who retain a very grateful Senſe of this, and many other ſeaſonable and eminent Services you have done to your Country and the Church of Chriſt.

THAT your Lordſhip, who has ſo clear a View of the Chriſtian Inſtitution, in the ſeveral Beauties and Excellencies of it, as a Doctrine every way worthy of its glorious Author, may faithfully adhere to it, live under the Power and in the Comfort of it, ſtill more and more adorning this Doctrine of God our Saviour in all things; that you may have Wiſdom to balance the Inconveniencies of your advanced Station, and to improve the Conveniencies of it, with reſpect to another

another World, and to a proportionable Degree of Bleſſedneſs there; that when you account for the larger Truſt of Talents you are honour'd with, you may do it with Comfort, and enter into the Joy of your Lord, is the unfeigned, hearty Deſire of,

Your Lordſhip's

Obliged Humble Servant,

B. BENNET.

THE

THE PREFACE.

I Don't apprehend my ſelf much concern'd to apologize for this Undertaking, and by liberal Profeſſions of good Intention, endeavour to beſpeak the Reader's Favour. Two things are neceſſary to gain it Acceptance with him, the Value and Suitableneſs of the Work itſelf, and the Candour of his Temper: If either of theſe be wanting, an Apology is uſeleſs; if neither, 'tis needleſs.

I am ſenſible, what is here done, muſt not pretend to paſs for an exact Hiſtory, 'tis rather a Miſcellany of things; but it muſt be my Excuſe, that 'twas begun without any Plan for ſuch a Volume, and was to conſiſt only of a few Sheets, to introduce a Sermon preach'd on King GEORGE's *Coronation-Day, connecting former with later*

later Deliverances (the Subject of that Diſcourſe). The Sermon was tranſcribed more than a Year and half ago, as was the greateſt part of theſe Papers; and tho' the former is ſuppreſs'd, as being now quite out of Date, the latter venture abroad into the World, in hope they may in ſome meaſure ſerve the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Reform'd Religion: *And if they be bleſs'd to this Purpoſe, I have my End, and ſhall leſs regard any Imputation of Preſumption, Raſhneſs, &c. or the Severity of the Critick's Eye.*

The Account of the Reformation *was at firſt much larger, but 'twas thought fit to contract it, to make room for ſome other things, not leſs agreeable to the Deſign of this Work; which is not ſo much to give an Hiſtory of the* Reformation *itſelf, as of Providence in beginning and defending it; and this not for the Uſe of the learn'd and curious, but the more common Readers, that have not Acceſs to larger Volumes, nor Leiſure to peruſe them. And if nothing elſe, the Variety of the Matter, greater than is ordinarily to be found in ſuch a Compaſs, may, I hope, afford Entertainment.*

I have been ſomewhat particular in the Narrative of the Conſpiracies *and* Plots, *&c. have endeavour'd to lead the Reader back, and ſet him upon the Precipice, where we have ſo often been; letting him ſee the*

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Deſtruction that has from time to time hover'd over our Heads, and how ſeaſonably God has interpoſed, and become our Salvation. The Hiſtory of theſe things, I have carry'd down through the ſeveral Reigns ſince the Reformation, *to the late horrid infamous* Rebellion: *Which, it may be, ſome may think, I have paſt over too ſlightly; but as much is ſaid as ſeem'd neceſſary, and all that my Limits would well admit. Larger Hiſtories will, I doubt not, record theſe Tranſactions more fully and minutely, and by reproaching this ſtupid, ungrateful Age, give Warning to Poſterity.*

I know but one thing that can with any Colour be alledg'd againſt the profeſs'd Deſign of this MEMORIAL (*which is to diſplay the divine Providence, in our national Deliverances, and invite to Gratitude*) viz. *That what we call national Deliverances, are ſome of 'em national Rebellions. We have caſt off, ſay they, our Allegiance to our natural, rightful, hereditary Princes; have reſiſted the Powers ſet over us by God; ſo that there's too much of Guilt in* * *thoſe Deliverances,*

* A certain Author ſpeaking of the Revolution, and its being applauded as a Deliverance from Miſery and Slavery, ſays, "Upon Conſideration it may appear to be in Truth no-"thing elſe but a *Deliverance*, as this means, *a ſetting us looſe* "*from all Reſtraints of Conſcience and Honour.*"

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Revolutions and Settlements, to be a fit Matter of Thanksgiving. They should be remembred with Tears and Repentance, instead of being celebrated with Panegyricks and Ebenezers.

But as the Notion upon which this Objection is grounded (viz. *the indefeazible Right of Kings, Non-Resistance,* &c.) *has been sufficiently baffled many a time, and, one would think, expos'd to Contempt; so the Law of the Land has now superseded it: 'Tis dead both in Law and Reason, and really can bind no Man's Conscience* (*except as Error binds it*) *any more than* Mahomet's *Rules concerning Abstinence, or the* Pope's *Bull, on* Maunday Thursday.

There is indeed, so much of Judgment in this Doctrine; it falls so heavy on Mankind, leaves them in such deplorable Circumstances, that, was there Truth in it, I should have expected to have found it at the beginning of the Bible; and that when the Death threaten'd our first Parents came to be branch'd out into some of its Particulars viz. *the Sorrow of the Woman in Childbearing, her more uneasy Subjection to her Husband, the Barrenness of the Earth, the Toil and Labour of Man, his Return to Dust at last; there should have been an express Mention of this as the worst Ingredient in that Death* (*with respect to temporal Concerns*) *viz.* That Mankind

kind ſhould be given up to the Will and Luſts of Tyrants; *but as we find nothing of this there, we have reaſon to think, the Gracious Governour of the World, has not doom'd us ſo low, laid us in ſuch Chains. He that promiſed to* break the Serpent's Head, *and deliver us from the Tyranny of* Satan, *has not ſubjected us to the Tyranny of thoſe of our own Species, reſerving us no Remedy, but Prayers and Tears.*

But 'tis objected, that the Apoſtle (Rom. 13.) *requires abſolute Subjection to higher Powers, and threatens Damnation to thoſe that reſiſt even Tyrants, ſuch as* Nero *and* Claudius, *who were the Powers* (one of 'em) *actually reigning, when he wrote his Epiſtle. And ſays the Apoſtle of thoſe Powers,* that they are ordained of God, and thoſe that reſiſt them ſhall receive Damnation.

But if the Objector will pleaſe to read the Context, and impartially conſider it, the Objection will vaniſh, and leave him, whether he will or not: 'Tis evident even to a Demonſtration, that as the Apoſtle does not here appoint any particular Form of Government, ſo he ſays nothing of particular preſent Governours, only recommends Subjection to Governours in general, and that from the Conſideration of the divine Inſtitution of their Office, and the Benefit of it to Mankind, when duly adminiſtred.

To resist such Governours as answer the End of their Office, and the Apostle's Representation, is, no doubt, a very great Fault, and deserves a proportionable Punishment (Κρῖμα) both here and hereafter. But the Resisting of Tyrants falls not under the Apostle's Sentence: This Text says nothing to the Case of Tyrants, but really excludes them, as being another sort of Creatures, from what he describes, and the very reverse of that Character he gives the Ministers of God, to whom he requires Subjection.

To put this Matter beyond all doubt, let us suppose Nero *here meant, as the Objector would have it, and try how finely the Text runs, when thus apply'd.*

" I enjoyn, that every Soul (Christians
" as well as others) be subject to the higher
" Powers; for the Powers that at present
" be, are ordain'd of God. *Nero* particu-
" larly (now at the Head of the *Roman*
" Empire) is so, and whoever resists him,
" shall receive Damnation; for he's not a
" Terror to good Works (discouraging and
" persecuting good Men) only to evil. Do
" well, and you have nothing to fear from
" *Nero*, for he's the Minister of God for
" Good, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon
" evil Doers; so that 'tis your Duty to be
" subject to him (*Nero*) not only from fear
" of Punishment, but from Conscience and

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"the Fear of God. You ought to ſupport
"him in all his Power and Dignity (which
"he ſo well employs) paying him ſuch
"Tribute as he demands, and as is due to
"him; for he is God's Miniſter, continu-
"ally attending on this very thing, vigi-
"lantly diſcharging the Duty of his Office,
"protecting all his Subjects, reſtraining the
"Injurious, defending the Innocent, and
"every way promoting the Good of the
"Community."

This muſt be the Apoſtle's Senſe, or elſe the Objection is Nonſenſe; and I leave it to every impartial Perſon, to conſider how injurious it muſt be to an inſpired Apoſtle, to make him talk at this rate. What an Idea muſt it give the World of Chriſtianity? What would the Romans *particularly (who had ſo noble a Senſe of Liberty) have thought of the* Chriſtian Religion, *when they heard one of the chief Propagators of it had ſo zealouſly eſpous'd the Cauſe of Slavery, and obliged all on pain of Damnation, to be ſubject even to their* Nero, *whom the Senate had condemned as a publick Enemy, and the People hated as a Tyrant? But I ſhall not ſtand further to combat ſuch a Shadow, which indeed I would not have troubled this Preface with, but that ſome who would be thought zealous* Proteſtants *make it a Matter of Conſcience, and lay ſo great a ſtreſs upon it, as not*

only to undervalue the most eminent publick Favours of Providence, but to sacrifice their Religion, Liberty, and All, for the sake of it.

The Design of these Papers has been already hinted, and is sufficiently evident, viz. *To celebrate Providence in our national Deliverances; among which that grand Deliverance from* Popery, *the retrieving the* Christian Religion, *almost lost in the Ignorance and Corruption of the* Romish *Church, deserves a special Notice. 'Tis the most eminent* Salvation *that God has wrought for us; to which all the rest are subordinate; and which, next to our* Redemption *by the Son of God, challenges our loudest Praises: And yet, when the present State of the* Reformation, *and* Protestant Religion *as profess'd amongst us, is consider'd, methinks we find an allay in our Joy, and too just Cause for the same Mixture of Affection, that was express'd when the Foundation of the second Temple was laid, some shouted aloud for Joy, and others wept with a loud Voice; so that the People could not discern the shout of Joy, for the noise of Weeping. We ought to rejoice, abundantly rejoice (he deserves not the Name of a* Christian, *a* Briton, *that does not) when we consider the Blessings, which, by Wonders of Providence, have been secured to us, and yet we want not Cause of Lamentation.*

tation. We have had the Bible *in our own Language, Preachers encouraged to inculcate the Doctrine of the Goſpel, for near two hundred Years, but with how little effect! how groſs our Ignorance, how deprav'd our Manners, how little of Chriſtianity in a Chriſtian Nation! all ſerious Perſons are ſenſible of this, and ſome have not been wanting to complain of it in ſuitable Terms.* "It cannot be denied (*ſays a Great Man* "*of the eſtabliſh'd Church, and a hearty* "*Friend of the* Reformation) that univer- "ſally the whole Nation is corrupted, and "that the Goſpel has not had thoſe Effects "among us, that might have been expec- "ted, after ſo long and free a Courſe as "it had in this Iſland." *That it has not, is ſadly evident; he that doubts of this, either knows not what Chriſtianity is, or knows not what we are: A View of the State of Religion, as it now ſtandeth in many of the Pariſhes of* England, *eſpecially in Country places, would afford but a melancholy Entertainment to a ſerious Mind, and indeed be enough to give him an Horrour, not unlike that which* Daniel *had in his Viſion, when he fainted, and was ſick certain Days.*

But I ſhan't take the Liberty to purſue this Subject, tho', according to my firſt Intention, 'twas to have been the main Errand of this Preface. *I purpoſed to have hinted*

hinted at the chief Defects of the Reformation, *to have ſuggeſted what ſeems moſt wanting to ſtrengthen and perfect it, to have touch'd upon the moſt notorious Inſtances of our Corruption and Apoſtacy, and upon the neceſſary Means for the Recovery of* real Religion, *every where languiſhing and dying in the Proteſtant Churches; but not knowing how any great Freedom here might be interpreted, I ſhall forbear, and leave theſe things to ſuch as may ſay them with more Advantage, and to the inward Reſentments of ſuch as ſigh for the Abominations done in the midſt of us, and whoſe Souls weep in ſecret places: In the mean time hoping and praying, that a Gracious God, who has watch'd over the* Reformation *ſo long, and with ſo tender a Care, that has ſo often reſcu'd it from the Jaws of Deſtruction, and pluck'd it as a Brand out of the Burning, will not, after all, give us up; but that at length the Sun of Righteouſneſs ſhall ariſe upon the Reformed Churches more fully, with Healing in his Wings; that he will not contend with us for ever, and draw out his Anger to all Generations, but revive us again, that Glory may dwell in our Land.*

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A MEMO-

A MEMORIAL OF THE *REFORMATION* AND *Britain's* Deliverances, &c.

The INTRODUCTION.

THE happy Settlement of theſe Nations (after ſo many and juſt Fears of a POPISH PRETENDER) under his Majeſty King *GEORGE*, a Proteſtant Prince, and a known Patron of the Rights of Mankind, is ſo *Eminent a Mercy*, conſider it in all its Circumſtances, that I can't but think it challenges a very ſpecial Regard. The Deſign of this *Eſſay*, is to illuſtrate that Providence that herein we adore: And that I may do it with more Advantage, I ſhall look a little back, and touch upon ſome Things of earlier Date.

ABOUT two Centuries ago, it pleaſed God to reſtore to theſe Nations their Sight and Feeling; to deliver us from the oppreſſive Yoke of the *Papacy*; a Yoke that neither we, nor our Fathers were able to bear: Which I take to be one of the moſt Glorious Acts of that Providence towards us, which ſeems to delight in ſhowing us Favour, and diſtinguiſhing us from our Neighbours round about. Ever ſince this memorable Period, our Enemies *have attempted*, with a reſtleſs Malice, again to enſlave us. Hiſtory is full of their *Plots* and *Conſpiracies*, their Inſurrections and Invaſions. They have left no Stone unturn'd, no Method uneſſay'd, whether of Fraud, or Force, by which they might accompliſh their Deſigns, and bring us back into Bondage.

MY Buſineſs here will be to give the Reader a brief View of theſe Practices; to repreſent to him the many Engines that have been us'd to deſtroy us, and the many kind Appearances of our God to ſave us: In doing which, I would humbly deſire to erect a Monument to the Honour of our Great Deliverer; and tho' I don't pretend, with the Art of an *Aholiab*, or *Bezaleel*, to carve curious Work; however, I would endeavour, in the beſt Manner I can, to pay a ſmall Tribute of Praiſe, and ſet up an *EBENEZER* with this Inſcription, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

I AM ſenſible it would be of ſome Advantage to this Work, could I take a Survey of *Popery*, and repreſent to the Reader the true State of the Chriſtian Religion before the *Reformation*. This would tend very much to recommend the Providence I am to deſcribe. *Popery* is really the greateſt Plague that can befall a People; worſe than Sword, Famine and

and Peſtilence: Were theſe offer'd to our Choice, (as they were once to *David*'s) in Competition to *Popery*, we ſhould with Reaſon ſubmit to any of them, (if we underſtand what *Popery* is) rather than ſee our dear Country again delug'd in the *Filth* and *Abominations* of *Rome*.

BUT I can't pretend in the preſent Diſcourſe to handle this Subject, and therefore muſt refer the Reader to ſuch Treatiſes where 'tis deſignedly done already. I ſhan't, however, wholly paſs it over; but ſhall ſay ſomething, tho' very briefly, touching the Corruption of Religion under the *Papacy*: Show how the Defection began, and how it advanc'd, till *Popery* was ſettled in the World.

CHAP. I.

The Scripture the only Rule of Faith; not Fathers, Creeds, Catechiſms, &c. *The Departure from this Rule, the Foundation of the Anti-Chriſtian Apoſtacy. Churchmen prefer'd, and the Church in a great Meaſure new modell'd by* Conſtantine. *The Ambition of the Clergy, eſpecially of* Rome. Victor *excommunicates the* Eaſtern *Churches for not keeping* Eaſter *as he did. The growing Apoſtacy of the Church, from the ſixth Century. The groſs Ignorance of the Clergy. Scandalous Lives both of Clergy and Laity. The vile Diſcipline of the Church after Popery took place. Their* Taxa Cameræ Apoſt. *The Scandals of their Religious Houſes. Their Devices to enrich the Church, and get the Treaſure of the World into it. The horrid Principles of the* Papiſts *with Reference to Civil Government. A Liſt of Princes depos'd by Popes. Faith not to be kept with Hereticks. Proteſtants to be deſtroy'd by Catholicks, except in one Caſe,* viz. *when the Catholicks are not able to do it.*

The Scripture the only Rule of Faith.

I SCARCE need tell any one that's call'd a *Proteſtant*, and deſerves that Name, that the Chriſtian Religion is intirely contain'd in the

the Writings of the Old and New Teſtament: Here's the Canon, the Rule, the *only Rule* of Faith and Practice; *We are* * *built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets; other Foundation can no Man lay.* Should *even an Angel from Heaven* endeavour herein to unſettle us †, and preach another Goſpel, we pronounce him *accurs'd.* And as the Chriſtian and Proteſtant Religion are one, (the latter being but a Revival of, or Return to the former) ſo they muſt neceſſarily have the ſame Foundation.

THIS is *the Rule*, the compleat and the only Rule to Chriſtians, to Proteſtants, containing all Things neceſſary to be believ'd and practis'd; the Judge of Controverſies; the Standard to which we muſt appeal in our Diſputes about Articles of Faith, and by which our Doctrines muſt be meaſur'd.

I ADD, as the Scripture is *the Rule*, ſo every Man muſt judge of its Meaning for himſelf, (taking in all the Help he can, both divine and humane) otherwiſe it would be no Rule to him: And I ſtick not to ſay, this is the Grand Article of *Proteſtantiſm*, which we can never forſake without giving up our Cauſe, and falling back again into all the Abſurdities of implicite Faith and blind Obedience.

THIS I think demonſtrable, that if we ſet up any Men, or Order of Men, as the *authoritative Expoſitors* of Scripture, ſo as to depend wholly on them for its Senſe, and acquieſce, without Enquiry, in their Determinations: We hereby abſolutely deliver ourſelves into their Power; we make 'em *Lords of our Faith*; and, indeed, make the Scripture more the Word of Men than the Word of God.

* Eph. 2. 20. † Gal. 1 8.

IT was the Miſtake of the *Jews* in this Particular that ruin'd both them and their Religion. Their Doctors had rais'd their Power to an extravagant Height, as is implied in the Advice of *Gamaliel*, "That the Ignorant ſhould "get themſelves Rabbies, that they might no "longer doubt any thing." In ſhort, they ſet up for a kind of Infallibility, and aſſum'd to themſelves a *Dictator*'s Power in Religion: To them it belong'd to give the Senſe of the Law, (*i. e.* to put what Senſe they pleas'd upon it) nor were the People at Liberty to differ from 'em, or to believe otherwiſe than they taught them. "He that Teaches any thing (and for "the ſame Reaſon, that Believes any thing) "he has not heard from his Rabbi, provokes "the divine Majeſty to depart from *Iſrael*," ſays one of their Guides *.

AND hence probably 'twas, that their Gloſſes upon the Law, and Reſolutions of Caſes of Conſcience, were call'd *Looſing and Binding*; the Phraſe generally us'd in the *Talmud*: When they declar'd this or that Lawful, they *Loos'd*, *i. e.* you had your Liberty to do it: When it ſeem'd otherwiſe to their Wiſdom, and they thought fit to declare it Unlawful, then they *Bound*, *i. e.* tied you up, and laid you under Reſtraint: And this they did in a thouſand Inſtances, when there was no other Reaſon for it but their own Caprice and Humour.

WHAT Senſe our Lord had of the Encroachments of theſe Doctors, and what Care he has taken, to prevent every Thing of this Nature, in his Church for the future, may be learn'd from that Caution; *Be not ye therefore call'd Rabbi, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt; and*

* Rab. *Eliez. Vid.* Dr. *Whitby* on *Mat.* 23. 8.

all

all ye are Brethren; and call no Man Father upon Earth *, &c. He won't allow in his Church any such *Rabbi*'s as these, with Authority in Matters of Faith. Christ is the great Prophet, *whom we are to hear in all Things* †; he is our *Master in Heaven*; whose Dictates are a Law to us, and must be receiv'd without disputing them: But if others teach us any Thing, we are to call them to the common Standard, and try them by the *written Word*; and not blindly submit to their Authority, thereby pinning our Faith on their Sleeve.

BUT does not Christ say of these very Men (the Scribes and Pharisees) *that they sit in* Moses's *Seat* ‖, and that *whatever* they bid us observe, that we must observe and do? But surely this must not be suppos'd to signify that an implicite Obedience was due to them; for if so, how came Christ himself to contradict them, and to caution his Followers, to beware of their Leaven, (*i. e.* their Doctrine?) How comes he to call them *blind Leaders* ‡ of the Blind, and censure them as making void the Commandments of God ††, by their Traditions? Nay further; If they were to be obey'd *in all Things*, the People sinn'd not even in crucifying the Son of God, persecuting and murdering his Followers; for this was according to the Command of these Expositors of the Law, the Doctors that sat in *Moses* his Chair: So that the *All* Things whatsoever, (as Dr. *Whitby* observes from *Theophilact.*) must mean no more than this, *That whatever they requir'd from the Books of* Moses, *or the Law of God, they must observe and do*; So that the Consequence is plain,

* *Mat.* 23. 8, 9, 10. † *Mat.* 17. 5. ‖ *Mat.* 23. 2, 3.
‡ *Mat.* 16. †† *Mat.* 15. 6.

that they were not to follow them blindfold; but muſt try their Doctrine, and compare it with the Law, that they might know whether to receive or reject it.

THE Canon of the Scripture is not only inlarged to us Chriſtians, but 'tis *finiſhed* and ſealed up, and muſt remain the *only Rule*, without Addition, Diminution, or being ſubject to Alteration for ever, by a leſs Power than that which at firſt gave it.

NOR are there any Rabbi's left on Earth, with the Authority of binding and looſing, further than they can prove Chriſt and his Apoſtles have bound and loos'd, and what they offer for this Purpoſe, every one is to judge of, otherwiſe he does not behave as a reaſonable Creature, much leſs a Diſciple of the Lord Jeſus.

THE Fathers of the three firſt Centuries are not our *Rule*, nor authoritative Expoſitors of it, (tho' we reverence their Writings on many Accounts) any more than they of the 5th, 6th and 7th Centuries, *&c.* General Councils, Aſſemblies, Convocations, *&c.* are neither our *Rule*, nor have they Authority to expound it. (Such Authority I mean, as all muſt be determin'd by.) Creeds, Catechiſms, Canons, Confeſſions or Articles of Faith, drawn up, and agreed upon, by this or that Church, are not our *Rule*: Theſe are all ſubordinate to Scripture, and of no Value, but as they are grounded upon it, and accord with it: And indeed are no more, but Declarations how ſuch and ſuch Men (all fallible, and in many Things no doubt partial, and prejudic'd) met at *Epheſus*, at *Nice*, at *Weſtminſter*, &c. underſtood the Scripture in the Particulars they had before them. And he that acts as a Chriſtian, and according to the Laws of his Diſcipleſhip, and with due Regard

to

to the *Rabbi in Heaven*, will * examine what they ſay (as far as capable) by the Rule of the Scripture.

BUT the four firſt general Councils are receiv'd by all Proteſtants, receiv'd; how? Not by any in their Wits, as the *Rule of Faith*, or

* I would not be underſtood as if I thought all Things in the Bible were obvious to every Reader, and upon a Level with every Capacity, as if Expoſitions were of no Uſe, or all the Members of the Church qualified to be Expoſitors for themſelves. Things abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, it is granted, are plain and eaſy; but it cannot be denied there are δυσνόητα, Things hard to be underſtood; not only in *Paul*'s Epiſtles, but in other Parts of Scripture, with Reſpect to which moſt will find like the *Ethiopian* Eunuch, *Acts* 8. 31. that they want a Guide: Few have the neceſſary Preparations of humane Learning, ſufficient Leiſure, &c. for ſearching into the abſtruſer Points of the Bible; They are oblig'd to take many Things upon Truſt, or be wholly ignorant of them. Nor is there any Remedy for this, that I know of, except a new Inſpiration: So that tho' Catechiſms, Creeds Expoſitions, &c. are no Part of our Rule, they are however (ſome of them at leaſt) uſeful in their Place; nor can I ſee but the ſame Credit is due to a learned Interpreter, and judicious Divine, in Matters of Divinity, eſpecially the more critical Articles of it, as we give to a Lawyer or Phyſician in their ſeveral Profeſſions: If it be ſaid, that every one is bound to know ſomething of Divinity himſelf, his Salvation depends upon it; whereas it is not neceſſary he ſhould ſtudy Law or Phyſick: I anſwer, it is granted he muſt know the fundamental Points, but even in theſe he'll be the better for a good Inſtructor: And as to many other Things, he's under a Neceſſity of depending upon his Teachers: Nor are the main Body of Chriſtians much better qualified to be Expoſitors of the Bible, than Pleaders at the Bar. Two Extremes are here to be avoided, on the one Hand *the Setting up of Rabbies*, and calling any one Father on Earth: *The Churches having Authority in Matters of Faith*, is an Expreſſion groſs enough: On the other Hand, a Contempt or Neglect of the Miniſtry of the Church, by which a great many valuable Truths have been handed down to us. Should all our Catechiſms, Creeds, Expoſitions be deſtroy'd, and the Bible be put naked into every one's Hand, without any of the Helps we have now to underſtand it, I am perſuaded we ſhould find ourſelves carried many Degrees backward, and be at a Loſs in many Particulars of Importance; wherein our Freethinkers could make us but little Help. I would be a Slave to no Catechiſm, Council or Expoſitors, would not make them my Rule; but I muſt thankfully accept all the Aſſiſtance they afford, for underſtanding the Rule.

Part

Part of it. They have in them ſome Things true, ſome Things probable only, and no Queſtion, ſome Things falſe; and whether they be true or falſe, (in Points of Faith I mean) Scripture muſt determine.

WELL, this is the *Chriſtian's, the Proteſtant's Rule of Faith*: I am now to add; It was the departing from this Rule, and ſetting up an exorbitant Power in the Church, and in the Paſtors of it, (*viz.* to declare the Senſe of Scripture, to make new Laws, Preſcriptions, *&c.* not found in the Scripture) that led on the great Apoſtacy, and help'd *Antichriſt* up to his Throne, where he has ſat ſwelling in his Pride, for about a thouſand Years.

IT would be eaſy to prove that the Power which Chriſt left with his Church, and the Governours of it, is wholly *Miniſterial.* Their Buſineſs is to aſſiſt People in underſtanding this Rule, and living according to it; which is ſo great, ſo extenſive, ſo important a Work, that they need not ſeek for other Employment: They have enough to do to enforce the Laws of Chriſt, by Reaſon, Argument, *&c.* and exerciſe the Diſcipline he has appointed; without making new Laws, or deviſing a new Diſcipline: And, Oh! how well, how happy had it been for the Church, had the Biſhops, and Miniſters of it, with Zeal and Diligence, attended to this, as their proper Province, without diverting to foreign Matters: Hereby they would have procur'd more Reverence to themſelves, and Eſteem of their Office. And indeed it is ſcarce poſſible, that an Office ſo uſeful as this; ſo beneficial to Mankind; ſo ſerviceable to their higheſt and greateſt Intereſts; ſhould ever fall into Contempt, when the

the Duties of it are in any good Measure fulfill'd. But to return from this Digression.

The Rise of Apostacy in the Church.

IT was, I say, *a Departure from the only Rule of Faith*, and raising the Power of the Church too high, that began the Antichristian Apostacy, and laid the Foundation of *Babel*, that *great City*, that made all Nations drink of the Wine of the Wrath of her Fornication *.

IT is sufficiently known, that when the Christian Religion was establish'd by humane Laws, and the Church, from being persecuted by a Succession of *Pagan Emperors*, came under the Protection of the renowned *Constantine*, no small Change was made in the State and Government of it.

THAT Prince being educated in Paganism, and having observed the Pomp of the Pagan Worship, and the excessive Honours paid to their Pontiffs; thought fit to *imitate them*; partly to show his Zeal for the Christian Religion, partly to take off the Prejudices the Pagans had against it.

HENCE came the *Magnificence* and Splendor of their Temples. *Eusebius* † observes, that the former Structures which had been demolish'd (in the Time of Persecution) were little and mean, but the new were *spacious, sumptuous* and *splendid*. He took particular Care to ‖ grace the chief Cities with stately Oratories; especially *Constantinople, Antioch* and *Jerusalem*: In the last of which, he built a most magnificent Temple, in the Place of *Christ's* Sepulchre, and another sacred Oratory, in Honour of the Cross, and a third at the Foot of the Mount, where Christ ascended into Heaven.

* *Rev.* 14. 8. † Hist. Eccles. lib. 10. cap. 2. ‖ Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 24. ad 57.

AND

AND that nothing might be wanting, for the Glory of the Chriſtian Worſhip, and Churches, he appoints a ſolemn *Conſecration* of them, as the Pagans had of their Temples. * *Euſebius* gives this Account of the Dedication of one of the Churches newly erected at *Jeruſalem*. "The Emperor call'd a very great Num-
"ber of Biſhops out of all the Provinces:
"Theſe being met at *Tyre*, receiv'd the im-
"perial Letters to haſten to *Jeruſalem*, whi-
"ther they were carried at the publick Charge:
"Several of the imperial Miniſters were order'd
"to attend the Solemnity, and to grace the
"Feſtival, at the Emperor's Expence. The
"Miniſters of God adorn'd the Feſtival; ſome
"by preaching and Prayer; others by Pane-
"gyrick Orations, in Commendation of the
"Emperor's Piety, and the Magnificence of
"the Building: Others by reading and ex-
"pounding the holy Scriptures: Others im-
"plor'd the Favour of God by unbloody Sa-
"crifices, and myſtical ſacred Actions, and
"offer'd up Prayers for the publick Peace, for
"the Church of God, for the Emperor the
"Author of ſo many Bleſſings, and for his pi-
"ous Children. Thus was the Solemnity of
"the Conſecration celebrated with great Re-
"joycings in the Emperor's thirtieth Year.

Exceſſive Honours conferr'd on the Clergy.

THE Clergy in the mean Time, had all the Marks of Diſtinction imaginable. He directed Letters to the Biſhops by Name, ſays *Euſebius*, and gave them Honours, and large Sums of Money. They were made Arbitrators in Caſes of Difference among the People; which, as it was practiſed whilſt the Empire

* Euſeb. de Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, &c. See a fuller Account of this, and ſome Reflections upon it, in Mr. *Owen*'s Hiſtory of Conſecration of Altars, pag. 44.

was

was generally *Heathen*, to prevent going to Law before Pagan Tribunals, according to that of the Apoſtle *; So it was afterwards continu'd, for the greater Dignity of their Office. *Euſebius* † tells us, *Conſtantine* made a Law, to confirm all ſuch Deciſions of the Biſhops in their Conſiſtories, and that no ſecular Judges ſhould have any Power to reverſe them, in as much as the Prieſts of God were to be prefer'd before any other Judge. Another Hiſtorian ‖ ſays, he gave Leave to all Litigants to refer their Cauſe to the Determination of Biſhops, whoſe Sentence ſhould ſtand good, and be as authentick as if it had been the Deciſion of the Emperor himſelf, and that the Governours of every Province, and their Officers, ſhould be oblig'd to put their Decrees in Execution.

HIGH ſwelling Titles, it may be not ſo becoming the Preachers of the Croſs, were given the Biſhops. And it ſeems, it was eſteem'd ſo great a Privilege to have their Benediction, that even Emperors receiv'd it, *bowing the Head.* Kings and Princes, ſays *Ambroſe* ‡, did not diſdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Prieſts, and to kiſs their Hands, thinking themſelves protected by their Prayers.

THE Power and Juriſdiction of the Biſhops was very much extended at the ſame Time, and ſome of them rais'd to a vaſt Superiority over others of the ſame Order, even to the Degree of Metropolitans and Patriarchs. The Occaſion of this Change, was an Humor that took them, of ſetling the external Polity of the Church, after the Model of the civil Government. " The whole *Roman* Empire, ſays Dr.

The *Church* model'd after the Manner of the Empire.

* 1 *Cor.* 6. 4. † De vita Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 27.
‖ *Sozomen* Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 9. ‡ De Dignitate ſacerd. cap. 2.

" *Cave*,

" *Cave* *, conſiſted of thirteen Dioceſſes, (for " ſo they began to ſtile thoſe large Diviſions " about the Time of *Conſtantine.*) In each of " thoſe Dioceſſes, were ſeveral Provinces, (118 in " all) the chief City whereof, in every Province, " was the *Metropolis*, that had a Kind of Juriſ- " diction over all the reſt; both Title and Dig- " nity, being peculiary ſettled by Imperial " Conſtitutions. Now the civil and eccleſiaſ- " tical Juriſdiction were concurrent, after this " Manner: In every City, there was a civil " Judge, who preſided over it, and the Towns " about it. And to him anſwer'd the *Biſhop* " of that City. In every Province, a *Proconſul* " or *Preſident* reſided at the Metropolis, go- " vern'd that whole Diviſion, receiv'd Ap- " peals, and determin'd all important Caſes, " brought before him from the inferior Cities. " Correſpondent to him was the *Metropolitan*, " or (as they after call'd him) the Arch-Biſh- " op, whoſe See was in the ſame City, who " ſuperintended the ſeveral Churches, and or- " dain'd the ſeveral Biſhops within his Pro- " vince; and then in every Dioceſs (or large " Diviſion of the Empire) there was a *Vicarius*, " or Lieutenant, who kept his Reſidence in " the principal City, thence diſpatch'd the " imperial Edicts, and there heard and decided " thoſe Cauſes, that were not finally deter- " mined by inferior Courts; and concurrent " with him in eccleſiaſtical Matters, was the " *Primate*, or (as ſome of them were more e- " minently ſtil'd) the *Patriarch*, who preſided " over the ſeveral Metropolitans within that " Dioceſs, appointed the Conventions of his " Clergy, umpir'd the Differences that aroſe

* Antient Church-Government, *pag.* 31, &c.

" between

" between the ſeveral Biſhops, gave the De-
" termination to all Appeals brought before
" him: And thus (adds he) by an *orderly Sub-*
" *ordination* of Deacons and Presbyters to their
" Biſhops; of Biſhops to their immediate Me-
" tropolitans; of Metropolitans to their reſpe-
" ctive Primates or Patriarchs; and by a mu-
" tual Correſpondence between the ſeveral Pri-
" mates of every Dioceſs, the Affairs of the
" Chriſtian Church were carried on with great
" Decorum and Regularity."

THE Doctor owns *, that this was a *human Contrivance*; (as no Man in his ſober Senſes can deny) he ſeems, indeed, not a little pleas'd with it; he calls it a *wiſe Contrivance*: But *how wiſe* it was, the Church by this Time has had ſufficient Experience. This is certain, that it notably ſerv'd the Ambition and Uſurpation of aſpiring Clergymen, and gave no ſmall Encouragement to the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*.

HE himſelf has a Remark to this Purpoſe †.
" The mighty Reputation (*ſays he*) which the
" Synod of *Nicæ* had given to *Metropolitans*,
" and eſpecially to the particular Sees of *Rome*,
" *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. This inſpir'd them
" with an ambitious Affectation of extending
" their Superiority and Juriſdiction, and pre-
" par'd the Way among their Brethren for the
" eaſier Reception of it. The Synod of *Nice*
" was beheld by all with a juſt Regard and
" Veneration, and its Decrees receiv'd as Ora-
" cles from Heaven: And the Chriſtian World,
" finding what particular Care it had taken of
" thoſe three great Sees, were the more ready
" to ſubmit, and ſtrike Sail to *Uſurpations*;
" Hence, *ſays he*, the following Popes, but e-

* Ibid. p. 81. † Page 141.

" ſpecially

" ſpecially *Leo* ‡ the Firſt, do upon all Occaſions " magnify the *Nicene Canons*, &c." And who can behold and not bewail the unhappy Conduct of the Clergy under their Preferments; the wretched Spirit of Faction and Contention that prevail'd among them, eſpecially in their Synods, which did not a little diſparage their Office, and ſully the Glory of the Chriſtian Profeſſion: No ſooner were they deliver'd from the Hands of their Enemies, but they began to fall foul on one another; which the good Emperor ſaw with Regret, and attempted to heal it: How affectionately and pathetically did he addreſs 'em, when met at the Council of *Nice*? " I intreat you, *(ſays he)* beloved Mini- " ſters of God, and Servants of our Saviour " Jeſus Chriſt, take away the Cauſe of your " Diſſention and Diſagreement; eſtabliſh Peace " among yourſelves." And 'tis ſaid he burnt the Letters they had wrote one againſt another, (with ſo much Severity and Bitterneſs) that ſuch Matter of Strife, and ſuch Monuments of their Infirmity, might not remain to diſgrace them.

BUT all his Endeavours were to little Purpoſe: They ſet themſelves to diſpute about abſtruſe and ſublime Points of Faith, with Zeal and Stiffneſs; and proceeded to eſtabliſh their own Opinions, upon ſevere Penalties againſt ſuch as would not ſubmit to 'em; who in their Turn (when Opportunity offer'd) took care to be even with 'em, and retaliate the Injuries they thought they receiv'd. Hence Councils againſt Councils, Canons againſt Canons, with Anathema's, Confiſcations, Impriſonments, Deprivations, Burning of Books, *&c.* This was

‡ Vid. Can. 6.

too

too often the Iſſue of their Councils, inſomuch that *Gregory Nazianzen*, from a juſt * Reſentment of ſuch Proceedings, took up a Reſolution not to be concern'd in any Meetings of the Clergy; giving this Reaſon for it, that he never ſaw any Good come of 'em.

AND now it was that their Zeal began to ſpend itſelf upon Rites and Ceremonies borrow'd † from the *Gentiles*, and which were multiplied to that Degree, that *Auſtin* complains in his Time, that they were *leſs tolerable than the Yoke of the* Jews *under the Law* ||. One Reaſon for this Complaiſance was, the better to win upon their Heathen Neighbours. They would take as many of their Rites and Cuſtoms into the Church as they thought conſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion, that they themſelves might be the more eaſily induc'd to follow; but their Policy prov'd a Miſchief to themſelves, and a Snare to ſucceeding Ages.

* *Sic ſentio ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes conventus epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius ſynodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum; nam cupiditates contentionum & gloriæ (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem.* Greg. *Naz. Epiſt. ad Procopium.*

† *Baronius* acknowledges, that many Things have been laudably tranſlated from Gentile Superſtition into the Chriſtian Religion; *Annal. ad An.* 58. he adds, What Wonder, if the moſt holy Biſhops have granted that the antient Cuſtoms of Gentiles ſhould be introduced into the Worſhip of the true God, from which it ſeem'd impoſſible to take off many, tho' converted to Chriſtianity. And *Cornelius Agrippa*, de vanit. Scient. having mention'd ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, with reference to Veſtments, Lights, Bells, Geſtures, Organs, &c. He adds, *Quorum magna pars* (Euſeb. *Teſte*) *ab Ethnicis, in noſtram quoque Religionem, migravit:* A great Part of which (as *Euſebius* witneſſeth) hath been taken from Heathens, and receiv'd into our Religion. *Binius* extolling the Munificence of *Conſtantine* towards the Chriſtians, takes Notice of his *Superſtitionis Gentilitiæ juſta Æmulatio*; as he calls it, His juſt Emulation of Gentile Superſtition. *Concil. Tom. 7 note in Donat.* Conſtan. *p.* 313.

|| Epiſt. 19.

The Pride and Ambition of the Clergy.

AND how notorious was the Ambition of the Clergy? Their Contention for Preferment in the Church, and for Preheminence one above another, in their reſpective Sees? That Striſe that Chriſt once rebuk'd in his Diſciples, *who ſhould be greateſt*, was now every Day to be ſeen; the Effects of which were very inglorious to themſelves, and uncomfortable to the Church.

I MIGHT obſerve, this was eſpecially evident in the Church of *Rome*. The Spirit of *Diotrephes* early appear'd in the Biſhops of that Church: An Heathen Hiſtorian † remarks, that the Biſhops of *Rome* were richly clad, carried in Litters, and profuſe in their Feaſting: "They "affected a Dominion beyond the Bounds of "Prieſthood, (*ſays* Socrates ‖) and began to "exerciſe Secular Power and Authority." *Baſil* obſerving this, expreſſes himſelf with ſome Warmth and Indignation; "I hate, (*ſays he*) "the * *Pride of that Church.*" There was ſomething of the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, working betimes in the *Roman* Prelates: *Antichriſt* gave early Intimation where he deſign'd to fix his Seat. I ſhall mention one Inſtance of ſome Hundreds that might be given to the ſame Purpoſe, as a Specimen.

† *Amian. Marcel.* lib. 27.

‖ Hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 11.

* Dr. *Geddes*, in his Eſſay on the *Roman Pontificate*, ſuppoſes that the proud City of *Rome* inſpir'd her Biſhops with a Thought of its being reaſonable, that *on her Account* they ſhould be to Chriſtians what her *Pontifex maximus* was to the Heathens; and he endeavours to prove, that out of the Ruins of the *Heathen Pontificate* roſe the *Papal Pontificate* in that City. And St. *Jerom* and St. *Paulinus*, both of 'em aſſert, that Pride, Ambition, Envy, Avarice and Luxury, at the Time when the *Heathen Pontificate* was diſſolv'd, was as rampant in the Biſhops and Clergy of *Rome*, as ever they had been before in any Order of Men in that proud City; for which Reaſon *Jerom* calls *Rome* Chriſtian, *the Spiritual Babylon*. Geddes's *Poſthumous Tracts*, p. 68.

A DISPUTE happening between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches about keeping Eaſter, this important Affair occaſion'd no little Squabble †: The Weſtern Churches, particularly that of *Rome*, were for keeping it on the Lord's-Day, pretending a Tradition from St. *Peter*: The Eaſtern Churches will by all Means conform to the *Jews*, and keep the Feaſt on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, the Day appointed for the Paſſover, which they did on Pretence of a Tradition receiv'd from St. *John*. Both Sides contended fiercely for their Opinion; nor could either of 'em recede an Ace from it, being ſupported by ſo good Authority.

Conteſt about keeping *Eaſter*.

AT laſt *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*, thinks fit to interpoſe, and takes upon him to determine the Matter, requiring all other Churches to conform to the Cuſtom of his own Church; and becauſe the World had not then learn'd to bow down to the *Infallible Chair*, nor knew of any univerſal Sovereignty ſet up at *Rome*, they refus'd to comply with him, notwithſtanding his Admonitions and Threats: Whereupon the proud Man rages againſt them, denounces his Anathema's, and ſolemnly excommunicates the Biſhops of the Eaſt. Behold here an Intimation and Preſage of what might in Time be expected thence: And the End was anſwerable to the Beginning; for who needs be inform'd, that the ſame Spirit reign'd in many of his Succeſſors, and poſſeſs'd 'em more and more? Till at laſt, the Biſhop of *Rome*, from being a vigilant Paſtor to a ſingle Congregation, over whom he was ſet, and among whom he labour'd, preaching to 'em, praying with 'em, and for 'em, and teaching from Houſe to Houſe, ſerving

† *Euſeb.* Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 29, 22, 23.

the Lord with all Humility, and many Tears, and Temptations that befel him; from ſuch a one, he grew up to that haughty Sovereign, that ſwaggers over Kings and Emperors; *to our Lord God the Pope.*

BUT I muſt not run out upon theſe Things, and ſhall only remark, that 'twas, during this State of Proſperity, Religion got its firſt Wound. When *Conſtantine* began to heap Preferments and Honours in the Manner he did upon the Church, ſome that foreſaw the Danger are ſaid to have brought in a Voice from Heaven to proclaim it in theſe Words, *Hodie venenum funditur in Eccleſiam; Now the Church is poiſon'd:* Which, alas! prov'd a true Prophecy. During the Ten raging Perſecutions it flouriſh'd like the Palm-Tree under its Oppreſſions; but could not ſo well bear the Temptations on the other Side. "The Proſperity of the Church prov'd "fatal to her, (*ſays the Hiſtorian*) open'd the "Gates of the Sanctuary to Corruption, and "infatuated many of her Teachers with Envy, "Malice and Ambition." She continu'd no longer a chaſte Virgin, but was corrupted from the Simplicity that is in Chriſt. Religion began to loſe its inward Power, which in vain they attempted to ſupply with outward Form and Pomp. "After the Church (*ſays* Jerom) had "Chriſtian Magiſtrates, She was *fuller of Riches,* "*but emptier of Virtue* *;" and 'twas not long before there was too much Reaſon for the ſevere Remark, that *when the Church had Golden Chalices, it had Wooden Prieſts.*

The growing Apoſtacy of the Church.

'TIS certain, from the Sixth Century, the Defection (begun before) went on apace. A learned and candid Papiſt † ſays of the Writers

* *Vita Malach.* † *Dupin's* Advertiſ. to Hiſt. of 6th Century.

of

of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, "That "they were like great Lights, whose Meridian "Splendor darkned the little Lustre, and disco-"ver'd the great Defects of the Sixth and fol-"lowing Centuries." He adds, "The Gust "of the Times began to be deprav'd; Men "pleas'd themselves with starting a great many "unprofitable Questions, and disputing with "dogmatical Stiffness about Things of small "Consequence; too great Credulity began to "possess the Minds of the more Learned; "scarce any thing was then heard of, but Mi-"racles, Visions and Apparitions. The Church's "Riches began to be Burthensome to it; Con-"tests and Canvassings for obtaining Bishopricks "were very common; and many were promo-"ted to 'em, who had neither Knowledge, "Merit, nor Capacity."

Baronius * confesses, few in *Italy* were then (*viz.* in the Sixth Century) skill'd both in *Greek* and *Latin:* Nay, their *Gregory* himself, call'd *the Great*, (for his Eminency amongst his Contemporaries) acknowledges he was ignorant of the *Greek* †.

IN the Seventh Century they sunk still lower, as is evident from the Writings of those Times. Most profound and instructive is that precious Piece of *Moschus*, (St. *Moschus*, if you will) call'd his *Spiritual Meadow*, where he tells many fine Stories; as of two Angels standing God-fathers to a Child; of Baptizing with Sand; of the *Holy Ghost*'s coming down in a visible Shape on the Altar, upon the Priest's pronouncing the Words of Consecration.

AND what shall we say of the Conduct of St. *Austin the Monk*, when employ'd in convert-

* Annot. ad An. 1593. † Nos nec Græcum novimus, Epist. 69.

ing the *Briton*'s? The Zeal he diſcover'd, and the Pains he took to ſettle the *Sacerdotal Tonſure*, and the Time of keeping *Eaſter* (which were the two great Points he labour'd) could not but create him a Reverence ſuitable to his high Miſſion and Character; and gives us a very auguſt Opinion of the Wiſdom and Religion of that Age.

ONE Queſtion I can't but mention, which the *Great Auſtin* ſent to the no leſs *Great Gregory* for Reſolution, *viz. Si prægnans Mulier baptizari debet?* If a Woman with Child might be baptiz'd? He concluded, that when ſhe was in Childbed ſhe was undoubtedly unclean according to the Levitical Law, and conſequently diſqualify'd for Baptiſm; but whether her being pregnant render'd her polluted, in this Reſpect 'twould ſeem it puzzl'd his Noddle. And in ſuch Speculations as this, their more ſublime Doctors employ'd themſelves: Many a one has trotted to *Rome* ('tis pity but they ſhould have gone bare-foot) with a Caſe not more important than that which *Amalarius* diſcuſſes, *viz.* Whether it was lawful to ſpit immediately after the Sacrament?

THIS was the State of Things, from the Sixth through the following Centuries, only worſe and worſe; for we may obſerve, Apoſtacy is generally like the Deſcent of heavy Bodies, with a Swiftneſs perpetually encreaſing. The main Qualifications of the Clergy were, that they ſhould be able to read well, ſing their Mattins, know the Lord's-Prayer, Pſalter, Forms of Exorciſm, and underſtand how to compute the Times of their ſacred Feſtivals: Nor were they very ſufficient for this, if we may believe the Account ſome have given of 'em. *Muſculus* ſays, that many of 'em never ſaw the Scriptures

in

in all their Lives; it would ſeem incredible, but it is deliver'd by no leſs Authority than *Amama*'s, that an Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz* lighting upon a Bible, and looking into it, expreſs'd himſelf thus; "Of a Truth, I don't know "what Book this is; but I perceive every "Thing in it is againſt us." In ſhort, both Clergy and Laity were delug'd in Ignorance. We have their *Eſpencæus*, confeſſing that an "Egyptian Darkneſs continued in all the weſt-"ern World, till a few Years before the *Re-*"*formation.*" Nor was it like to be otherwiſe, when the Prieſts Lips, which ſhould have preſerv'd Knowlege brought it into Contempt; the *Holy Bible* was under Diſgrace, Ignorance cry'd up as the *Mother of Devotion*; nay, the very Fountains of Inſtructions, were in a great Meaſure ſhut up; witneſs that Order of *Gregory* the firſt, (good Man) that the *Britons* ſhould have no * Schools, only Monaſteries, *for Fear of Hereſies.*

THE School-Men, it is granted, made a Show of Learning and Reaſoning, as if they would have retrieved Things a little; but their Learning was *counterfeit*, and imploy'd not ſo much to reform the Church, as put a Colour upon its Errors and Superſtitions, by nice and ſubtil Diſtinctions, and the Help of a little more *Sophiſtry* than ſome that went before 'em, were Maſters of; *Eraſmus* † ſticks not to ſay, That even in this Age of the School-Men, Barbariſm overſpread Chriſtendom: The liberal Arts and learned Tongues were not ſtudied; the Latin was embas'd, and Antiquity ſlighted; and that the Sum and Subſtance of their

* So *Paul* II. uſed to call Scholars *Hereticks*, and exhorted the *Romans* not to ſuffer their Children to go to School too long, nor could he endure the Name of an Academy. (*Platina* in vita ejus.)

† Epiſt. ad Archiep. Eboracenſ.

Learning, was reduced to certain ſophiſtical Subtilties; and was the Poſſeſſion and Management of the *Summiſts* *, *Quodlibetiſts*, and ſuch like Wranglers: He adds, That the Biſhops and Paſtors affected a Kind of ſecular and prophane Juriſdiction, more than the Execution of their ſpiritual Function.

INDEED all Reliſh and Senſe of Religion, was in a great Meaſure loſt; that little which remain'd amongſt them, if it may be call'd Religion, moſtly lay in childiſh Fopperies, and unmanly Superſtitions: Their Divinity ran upon Viſions, Prodigies, Deliverance from Purgatory by the Prayers of the Monks, exorciſing the Devil, miraculous Power of the Sign of the Croſs, *&c.* Even the better Sort (ſays *Caſſander*) plac'd the Sum and Subſtance of their Religion in ſearching out Reliques, and adorning them.

The ill Morals of the Clergy.

AND for the Morals, both of Prieſts and People, they were ſo groſs and ſcandalous, that it would foul the Paper to diſplay them: *Baluzius* ſays of the Biſhops of the Eighth Century, that they ſpent the whole Day and good Part of the Night in feaſting and revelling †; and having patter'd or rather ſtammer'd over their Offices between Sleep and Wake, Drunk and Sober, they tumbled into Bed; in the Morning whilſt dreſſing, they yawn'd out a few Prayers, (*Penſum ſervitutis ſuæ deſidioſe perſolventes*) and ſo to their Cups and Pleaſures again; and that the Matter is not much mended ſince, is notorious enough from the Complaints of ſome of their own Communion. The World was amaz'd, ſays *Gerbert* ||, at the Manners of the

Quod toto die Conviviis & poculis vacarent & uſque ad Gallorum cantum, *&c.*

* Ad ſophiſticas quaſdam argutias, & erat penes ſummularios, *&c.* † *Spanheim*'s Hiſt. Cent. 1. cap. 3. ſub finem.
|| Epiſt. 40. ad Stephanum.

Romans.

Romans. Another * reckons up fifty Popes in the Space of an hundred and fifty Years, that were a Reproach to humane Nature: He calls 'em *Apoſtatical*, not *Apoſtolical*. And that none may ſuſpect either Ignorance or Partiality in an Adverſary, I ſhall give ſome Account of this Matter in the Words of ſuch as liv'd among 'em, and wanted neither Opportunity to know 'em, nor Ability truly to repreſent 'em.

CLEMANGIES, who wrote a Treatiſe in the Fifteenth Century, *of the corrupt State of the* Roman *Church*, is as free in his Complaints, as earneſt in his Expoſtulations: After a large Diſcourſe of the Abuſes every where notorious, he breaks forth in theſe Words: "*I nunc, &* "*confer hanc vitam, hos mores, hæc Regimina cum* "*primæva Diſciplina, cum Majorum Charitate,* "*Continentia, Sobrietate* †, &c. Go, Reader, "and compare this Life, (*viz.* that he had been "deſcribing) theſe Manners, this Government, "with the Diſcipline of the firſt Ages, with "the Charity, Continence, Sobriety, and ſtrict "Severity of our Fathers, and thou wilt ſee "(unleſs blinder than a Mole) that there is as "much Difference between us and them, as "between Gold and Dirt, *&c.*" And ſpeaking of their *Nunneries*, "What are they (*ſays* "*he*) now become, but Brothel-Houſes and "Common Stews?" He adds, That now the Vailing of a *Nun* is all one as if you proſtituted her to be a Whore: And in his Letter to a Doctor of *Paris* he urges, That they ought not only to depart from *Babylon* (for ſo he calls the *Roman* Church) in their Affections, *but bodily and locally* ‡. *Mattheus de Cracovia* ſpeaks in the

* *Gerebrard.* † Apud Faſc. rerum expetend. & fugiend. Tom. 2. ‡ Sed etiam pedibus corporis.

ſame

ſame Strain: He entitles his Book, *De Squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ*; and 'tis a great deal of Filth he rakes together; he ſticks not to ſay *, that ſcarce any one was ſo wicked and ſcandalous but he might be admitted to Holy Orders, and allow'd to celebrate Divine Offices.

AND to the like purpoſe *Petrus de Aliaco*, in his Tract offer'd to the Fathers of the Council of *Conſtance*, cries out of the Multitude of their Images, Pictures, Holy-Days, of the great Variety of Religious Orders †, *&c.* and having largely inſiſted upon the Neceſſity of Reforming the whole State of the Papacy, he adds, "Things "are come to that paſs in the Church, that it "was not fit to be govern'd but by Reprobates."

TO the ſame effect, *Laurentius Valla*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others: The former of theſe compos'd a Treatiſe on purpoſe to expoſe their Forgery, with reference to the *Donation of Conſtantine*. In which, among other Things, he complains heavily of the Covetouſneſs and Simony of the Pope ||, urging that he made Gain, not only of the Commonwealth, but of the Church, and even of the *Holy Ghoſt*: And adds ‡, That the latter Popes labour'd to be as Fooliſh and Wicked, as the former were Holy and Wiſe. The other of theſe Witneſſes (viz. *Mirandula*) gave a noble Specimen in his Oration at the Council of *Lateran*, not only of his Learning and Eloquence, but of his Zeal for Religion, and deep Concern for the Corruption of the Times. "Even with the Leaders and chief Men of our "Religion (*ſays he*) there is little or no Worſhip "of God, no good Method of Living, no Shame, "no Modeſty, no Juſtice; Religion is turn'd "into Superſtition, all Orders and Degrees of

* Ibid. 585. † Faſc. Tom. 1. p. 406. || Ibid. p. 432.
‡ Ibid. p. 417.

Men

"Men openly ſin; ſo that Virtue itſelf is made "Matter of Reproach to thoſe that practiſe it, "and Vices honour'd inſtead of Virtues, *&c.*" Theſe Good Men ſaw a Contagion ſpreading itſelf thro' the Church; *The whole Head was ſick, the whole Heart was faint*; and they were not wanting to bear their Teſtimony againſt ſuch Scandals; tho' generally they were *too few* to be much ſeen in the World, and *too little* to be heard.

THE Complaint of the *Germans* in their *Centum Gravamina*, their hundred Grievances, was a little more alarming; they cry out of the intolerable Burden of *humane Impoſitions*, that many Things were requir'd and forbid, which God had neither commanded nor prohibited *; ſuggeſting how they pick their Pockets by ſuch Devices and how horridly they abus'd the Indulgences that they ſet to ſale amongſt 'em, pretending to pardon not only the Living, but the Dead †: Hence (ſay they) Whoredom, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, Murder, and all ſorts of Wickedneſs; for what Evil will Men fear, if they do once believe they can purchaſe to themſelves Liberty of ſinning by Money, *&c.*

NOW theſe are the ‖ Complaints, not of Enemies, but Friends, Members of their own Church. And that they had a juſt Reaſon to be uneaſy, and call aloud for Reformation, may appear to any one that takes a View of their Diſcipline.

* Quæ nullo Divino præcepto interdicta ſunt vel imperata.

† Faſc. Tom. 1. 335.

‖ We have the like Complaint in *Agrippa* (de Vanit. ſcient.) who calls the Doctors of their Church, blind Guides, a Generation of Vipers, whited Sepulcres, who in their Mitres, Caps, Hoods and Habits, make a Show of Holineſs, but within are full of Filthineſs, Hypocriſy, Iniquity; Drunkards, Gluttons, Gameſters, Whoremongers, Bawds and Wizards; and yet (ſays he) a Man may not contradict their Decrees, unleſs he'll be burnt for it.

WHAT

WHAT ſhall we think of that famous (or rather infamous) Book of theirs call'd *Taxa* * *Cameræ Apoſtolicæ*, The Tax of the apoſtolical Chamber, by which they eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law, and contrive how Men may ſin *Cum Privilegio*. You have here a certain Rate fix'd for Abſolutions of all the Vices Mankind are addicted to; of murdering Brethren, Siſters, Fathers, Mothers, Wives or Husbands; of Inceſt with Siſter, Mother, *&c.* of all Sorts of Uncleanneſs, Theft, Revenge; and in ſhort, of any Kind of Wickedneſs their Inclination leads to. I will give the Reader a brief Taſt of their Courteſy. Abſolution for him that lieth with a Woman in the Church, is rated at 6 *Groſſos* †. If a Prieſt keep a Concubine, he muſt for his Abſolution pay 7 *Groſſos*; if he be a Lay-Man he muſt pay 8. If a Lay-Man commit Sacrilege, he may be abſolv'd for 7 *Groſſos*: If a Man lieth carnally with his Mother, Siſter or God-Mother, he muſt pay for

* This *glorious Piece* was firſt publiſh'd at *Rome*, in the Time of *Pope Leo* X. and afterwards printed at *Paris* 1622. the King's Privilege being join'd to it. 'Twas the next Year 1523. printed at *Colon*, and afterwards in the Collection call'd *Tractatus Illuſtrium Virorum* at *Lyons* 1549. And tho' *Claudius Eſpencæus* the famous *Sorbon* Dr. was ſo aſham'd of this Book, that he complains of it in his Comment upon *Titus*; cap 1. digreſſ. 2. yet this had no other Effect than to bring his own Book into the *Index Expurgatorius*, which condemns this Paſſage in *Eſpencæus*, and orders it to be daſh'd out. I was afterwards reprinted with the foreſaid *Tractatus Illuſtrium*, 1584. at *Venice*, and dedicated to *Pope Gregory* 8. *Laurentius Banck* publiſh'd it again, with Notes upon it; who affirms, that to his certain Knowledge, the ſame Pardons and Abuſes are at this Day practis'd at *Rome*. Some may allege that the *Taxa* is plac'd in the *Index Expurgatorius* by Pope *Alexander* the Seventh, and it is true, but then it muſt be conſidered, that it is only that Edition of it, put forth with *Banck*'s Notes; he excepts nothing againſt the Book itſelf. (Preface to *Fowlis*'s Hiſt. of Popiſh Treaſons.)

† A *Groſſo* is about Four Pence Farthing *Engliſh* Money.

Abſolution

Abſolution 5 *Groſſos*: If he deflowers a Virgin, or is perjur'd, the Price is 6 *Groſſos*. If a Lay-Man kill an Abbot, Monk, *&c.* he ſhall pay for his Abſolution 7, 8, 9 *Groſſos*; according to the Dignity of the Perſon: If he kill a Lay-Man only, he ſhall pay but 5 *Groſſos*: If a Woman with Child willfully deſtroy the Infant within her, ſhe ſhall be abſolv'd for 5 Groſſos. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the Prices of Sin with *holy Church*. One Remark is admirable, at the Cloſe they tell us, *Quod hujuſmodi Gratiæ non conceduntur pauperibus*; "that ſuch Acts of "Favour cannot be granted to the poor, be-"cauſe they have not, *Quibus conſolari poſſunt*, "i. e. *They want Money*; *and no Penny, no* Pater "noſter, *no Pardon.*

WHAT Wickedneſs ſuch a vile Diſcipline as this, (and many * more Inſtances might be added of the like Nature) would introduce into the World, and actually has, we are not now to learn. Sir *Edward Sandys*, ſpeaking of *Italy*, thro' which he travelled, and where Popery may be ſeen in its Perfection, ſays, "The whole "Country is overflow'd with Iniquity, with "Filthineſs of Speech, with Beaſtlineſs of Ac-"tions; both Governours and Subjects, both "Prieſts and Friars, each ſtriving as it were "with others in an Impudence therein.

NOR have their Monaſteries, their religious Houſes (where Men ſequeſter from the World, under Pretence of Devotion and greater Holineſs) eſcaped the Pollution. If we may judge of others by thoſe in *England* at the Time of

* Their *Mantuan*, whom *Bellarmine* commends for a learned and *godly Poet*, expreſſes his Senſe of *Rome*, and the Diſcipline of holy Church, more immediately under the Pope's Eye; in this Diſtich,

"Vivere qui ſanctè cupitis,
"diſcedite Româ;
"Omnia cum liceant, non
"licet eſſe bonum.

their

their Diſſolution, we cannot forbear calling them *Neſts of Villany and Uncleanneſs.* The Diſcovery then made of their many Impoſtures, Murders, unnatural Luſts, (Sins, to puniſh which God once rain'd Fire and Brimſtone from Heaven) ſufficiently expos'd them to the loathing of all ſuch as had any Modeſty or Senſe of Virtue remaining.

The *Church* engroſſeth Riches.

THEIR inſatiable Covetouſneſs in the Conduct of their Affairs, and Exerciſe of Diſcipline, is moſt notorious, and has brought 'em into a juſt Contempt with all the unprejudic'd among Mankind. If ever it might be ſaid of any in the World, that *Gain is Godlineſs with them*; it might be ſaid of theſe Men. Many of their Doctrines, Rites, Obſervances (as Indulgence, Purgatory, Laws of Penance, *&c.*) owe their Being wholly to the Covetouſneſs of their Authors: And it is almoſt incredible, what Sums of Money are drawn into the *Pope*'s Coffer, by theſe and other little Devices that depend upon them; as *Maſſes, Requiems, Trentals, Obits*; as alſo by *Peter-pence, Tenths, Firſt-fruits, Appeals, Inveſtitures*; by the Sale of *Agnus Dei, conſecrated Beads*, and ſuch like Ware, ſent from *Rome* every Year; by *Diſpenſations, Mortuaries, Pilgrimages* to the apoſtolick See; eſpecially at the Jubilee. Some have computed that the Tenths and firſt Fruits, in this Nation, amounted to above 20000*l. per Annum*, which was no ſmall Sum in thoſe Times; nay, one *Archbiſhop*'s *Pall* (*Walter Grey's* of *York*) coſt 10000*l.* Sterling, ſays *Matthew Paris.* In our *Henry* the IIId's Time, it was reckoned that the *Pope*'s Revenue out of this Nation, exceeded the *King's*; and ſome that have endeavoured to make the Eſtimate, tell us, that there went 60000 Marks yearly out of this Land to *Rome.*

Rome *. In collecting which Sums, the Frauds and Cruelties of their Agents were such, that a great † Biggot of the *Pope*'s, and a hot Stickler in *Becket*'s Cause, assures us, "That the "Legates of the Apostolical Seat did tyrannize "over the Provinces, as if the Devil was gone "out from the Presence of the Lord to scourge "the Church". Yet to oppose these Officers of the *Pope*, is reckon'd at *Rome* the most mortal Sin.

NOR had our Neighbours much better Treatment; the same Trade was carried on in other Countries, witness the Complaint of the *Germans* in their hundred Grievances; and that of the Council of *Spain*, mention'd by *Sandys* in his *Europæ speculum*, *viz.* that Pope *Pius* V. had got 14 Millions out of that Kingdom in a short Space. And *Ciracella* affirms, that Pope *Sixtus* V. in five Years Time collected 5 Millions of Crowns; ‖ 4 Millions of which *Gregory* XIV. his Successor, wasted in Pomp and Riot, in less than 10 Months. In short, the Church had found Means to ingross the greatest Part of the Treasure of the western World into their own Hands; and had not a Stop been put to their Encroachments; in a little while more, they would have inslav'd and impoverish'd all Mankind that owned their Usurpation.

NOR need we wonder at this, considering how many Hands were employ'd: The grand *Fisherman* at *Rome*, had a Multitude in every Country to angle partly for him, and partly for themselves. *Alsted* reckons above 100 Years ago, that there were then at least 225044 Monasteries in *Christendom*; and if you allow 40

* Mat. Paris p. 667. † Johan. Sarisb. ‖ Europ. Specul.

Persons

Perſons to an Houſe, the Number will be more than 9 Millions. Now all theſe, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticks, which like Locuſts, had overſpread the Face of the Earth, liv'd upon the Plunder of the People: And beſides, they had a thouſand little Tricks and Devices to get Money; they could ſell a dead Man's Bones at a vaſt Sum; *Auſtin*'s particularly (that were tranſlated from *Hippo* to *Sardinia*) were purchaſed at 100 Talents of Silver, and a Talent of Gold: And having almoſt an infinite Variety of Ware, which they put off at no ſmall Rate, taking Advantage of the Superſtition and Credulity of their ſilly Chapmen, it ſtrangely enrich'd them: Their own Poet *Mantuan* acknowledges, that all Things were ſet to Sale at *Rome*: Not only Temples, Prieſts and Altars, but Heaven and God.

——————— *Venalia nobis*
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignes, Thura, Preces; Cœlum eſt venale, Deuſq;

But to go on.

VIEW their Morals with Reſpect to Society, and they will appear ſo groſs, that inſtead of obtaining, as they have done in the World, one would rather expect the Princes of *Europe* ſhould have baniſh'd them out of their Dominions. For ſuch are their Principles, that if they act upon them, it is impoſſible they ſhould either be good Subjects, or good Neighbours.

IT is known that all the Eccleſiaſticks of whatever Degree, are exempted from the Juriſdiction of the ſecular Power. So that if a Clergyman be guilty of Theft, Murder, Blaſphemy, Perjury, *&c.* they won't allow him to be try'd by the Civil Magiſtrate. *Bellarmine* *

* De officio Chriſtiani princip. lib. 1. c. 5.

main-

maintains this Exemption of the Eccleſiaſticks; alledging as a Reaſon for it; that ſecular Princes are not the lawful Superiors of the Clergy, unleſs it be prov'd that the *Sheep are better than the Shepherd*, the Sons than the Fathers, and Temporals than Spirituals: and hence it paſſes for a Maxim with them, That the Rebellion of a Clergyman againſt his Prince is not Treaſon, becauſe he is not his Prince's Subject. Nor is this meer Speculation what they talk of, and diſpute in their Schools, but it is Matter of Faith with them; a neceſſary Principle which they have brought into Act, in Inſtances enough; witneſs the Quarrel between *Henry* II. and *Becket*. The King would needs chaſtize the diſorderly Clergy, and did ſo, notwithſtanding *Becket*'s Remonſtrance againſt it, as being a Violation of the Privileges of the Church; *Becket* reſiſts, and dies in the Quarrel, as is known; upon which the Pope falls on the King, who, by Way of Atonement for his Fault, ſubmitted to be ſtripped at *Canterbury*, and whipped by the Monks.

How they have inſulted and trampled upon crown'd Heads, is ſufficiently known, and not here to be enlarg'd upon. *The Council of Lateran** has paſt a Decree of Depoſition againſt heretical Princes, or ſuch as ſhould be remiſs in proſecuting thoſe the Church ſhall mark out for *Hereticks*. The Words of the Council are, "If the temporal Governour being requir'd "and admoniſh'd by the Church, ſhall neglect "to purge the Country of Hereſy, let this be "ſignify'd to the Pope, that from henceforth "he may declare his Subjects free from their "Allegiance, and give away his Land to be

Popiſh Principles deſtructive to Proteſt. Princes and States.

* Sub. Innocent 3. An. 1211. can. 3. de Heret.

"poſſeſs'd by Catholicks; and to ſhow that they are in good Earneſt, they have given the World Examples of their Doctrine, in the actual Depoſition of many of the greateſt Princes in *Europe*; Some ſhort * Account of which, I have thought fit to ſubjoin in the Margin.

I grant the *Pope's* have of late been more ſparing of their ſpiritual Thunder-bolts, and that for a good Reaſon; they ſaw the Princes of *Europe* began to deſpiſe them, and ſeem'd not willing to ſuffer themſelves to be abus'd as formerly; on which Account, no Queſtion, it was, that there is no Expreſs Mention of the depoſing Power of the Church, in the *Council of Trent*, only it is employ'd in the Ratification of the *Lateran* Council.

HOWEVER, the Doctrine is the *ſame*; the Principle abides with them. They ſtill teach an Heretick has no Right to his Crown, and that when he is excommunicated, it is no Sin for any to kill him. This is their Doctrine; and the Effects of it are well enough known to *Europe*, by the murdering of ſeveral Princes,

† Pope *Zachary* I. depos'd *Childerick* King of *France*.
Pope *Gregory* VII. depoſed *Henry* IV. Emperor.
Pope *Urban* II. depoſed *Philip* King of *France*.
Pope *Adrian* IV. depoſed *William*, King of *Sicily*.
Pope *Innocent* III. depoſed *Philip*, Emperor.
Pope *Gregory* depoſed *Frederick* II.
Pope *Innocent* IV. depoſed King *John* of *England*.
Pope *Urban* IV. depoſed *Manphred*, King of *Sicily*.
Pope *Nicholas* III. depoſed *Charles*, King of *Sicily*.
Pope *Martin* IV. depoſed *Peter* of *Arragon*.
Pope *Boniface* VIII. deprived *Philip the Fair*, upon which Occaſion, to juſtify what he had done, he publiſhed in his Bull, which is now Part of the Canon Law; the following Decree; "We declare and "pronounce it, as neceſſary "to Salvation, that all Man-"kind be ſubject to the *Roman* "*Pontiff*.
Pope *Clement* V. depoſed *Henry* V. Emperor
Pope *John* XXII. deprived the Emperor *Lodovick*.
Pope *Gregory* IX. depoſed the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*.
Pope *Paul* III. depriv'd *Henry* VIII of *England*.
Vid. Dr. *Chandler's* Sermon Nov. 5. 1714. p. 18.

and

and the Loſs of ſome hundred thouſand other Lives.

NOR are their Principles much kinder to their Fellow-Subjects, than to their Sovereigns: The ſame renowned Council of *Lateran*, has at once diveſted Hereticks of all their Rights: To plunder ſuch, is no Robbery; to kill ſuch is no Murder; to break Oaths with ſuch, is no Perjury. Hence it was that after *Jerom* of *Prague*, and *John Huſs* had *ſafe Conduct* granted them by the Emperor, the good Fathers of *Conſtance* burnt them notwithſtanding, alledging, that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks. And it ſeems Pope *Martin* V. went further, when he declar'd to the Duke of *Lithuania*, that he ſinn'd mortally, if he kept his Faith with Hereticks. So that it is plain, the *Bona fides* of a Catholick (eſpecially in Matters where the Intereſt of holy Church may be concerned) is not to be regarded, and that ſome other Security is to be expected, beſides Stipulations, Promiſes and Oaths, even when their Perfidy has not yet been proclaim'd to the World.

IN ſhort, there is not a proteſtant Prince now on Earth, that is not excommunicated, and laid under Curſes enow to ſink an ordinary Man to Purgatory, and lower: Nor is there a proteſtant Kingdom in the World, but all the Subjects thereof are * devoted to Deſtruc-

* Pope *Paul* V. by his Bull *April* 4. p. 613. ſolemnly excommunicates and anathematizes all *Huſſites*, *Wicklephiſts*, *Lutherans*, *Zuinglians*, *Calviniſts*, *Hugonots*, *Anabaptiſts* and *Apoſtates*, from the Chriſtian Faith, by whatever Name they are called; as alſo thier Receivers, Favourers, &c. together with all, who without the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, knowingly read, keep, print, or any Ways defend their Books, defending *Hereſie*, or treating of Religion: He alſo interdicts all Univerſities, Colleges, &c. who appeal from the Orders and Decrees of the Popes of *Rome*, for

tion; and there is nothing elſe between them and the Exciſion the Church has determin'd, but Want of Power to execute the Church's Sentence. If it was poſſible (ſays * *Bellarmine*) to extirpate Hereticks, undoubtedly they ought to be deſtroy'd Root and Branch; but *if it can't be done*, becauſe they are ſtronger than we, and if when we engage in War againſt them, they are like to be too hard for us, *tunc quieſcendum eſt, in*

for the Time Being, to a future general Council; and thoſe alſo, by whoſe Aid or Favour the Appeal was made. This Bull of Excommunication was affixed to the Door of the Lateran, and St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*; and is pronounced every Year on *Maunday-Thurſday*, and has been ratified and confirmed by more than twenty Popes: hereby all Proteſtants in the World, of whatever Rank and Degree, ſtand condemned, and are to be cut off by any poſſible Methods, either of Deceit or Violence. It was but agreeable to catholick Doctrine, that *Alanus* (*Apologia Stanleiana Proditionis*) determined with Reference to Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſince ſhe was both an Heretick and Excommunicate, her Subjects were in Conſcience bound to deliver up to the King of *Spain* her Armies, Cities, Caſtles, &c. and *that the Queen may no longer have a Property in any Thing*. Chriſtians may not tolerate a King that is an Heretick, ſays *Bellarmine*; and, ſays *Maſſovius*, He that reigns contrary to the Pope's Mind is a Tyrant; and *Bannes* having declared for the depoſing of an heretical King, *if there be a ſufficient Force*; otherwiſe to attempt it, may expoſe the Catholicks to Danger, adds, On which Account the Catholicks in *England* and *Saxony* are excuſed from riſing up in Arms againſt their Proteſtant Princes, becauſe commonly they are *not powerful enough* to carry on War againſt them. But where it can be done, the Catholicks are to depoſe them: Nay, they are to do it, ſays *Creſwell*, on Peril of their Souls; and adds *Mariana*, Kings who renounce the Popiſh Religion are to be treated like mad Dogs, and he is to be commended who at the Peril of his Life ſhall procure the publick Welfare. Sometimes indeed Papiſts may live quietly under a Proteſtant Government. The Pope in the Year 1580. when *Campian* and *Parſons* came into *England*, ſent a Diſpenſation to the Catholicks to ſubmit to Queen *Elizabeth* in Temporals, but this was with a Condition, *The Caſe thus ſtanding*, *i. e.* becauſe they could not do better, but as ſoon as an Opportunity offered, *viz* in the Year 1588. when the Spaniard furniſhed out his Armada, then they are diſcharged from their Faith to the Queen, which *Allen* ſignified in his Admonition to the Nobility of *England*, and called upon them to engage in the old Cauſe. It is the unchangeable Law of holy Church, *that they muſt deſtroy us if they can and when they can.*

De Laicis, lib. 3. cap. 22.

that

that Caſe we are to be quiet, i. e. they are not bound to cut our Throats, and murder us, whether they be able or not; but whenever they have Ability and Opportunity, they have leave to do it, and indeed are oblig'd to do it; nor are a thouſand Oaths any Security to us, that they will not do it. This is *Popiſh Divinity, Popiſh Religion.*

AND they have gone as far as they can in Purſuit of their Principles. As they teach, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; they are no Hypocrites in this, but have very agreeably to their Principles, violated the moſt ſolemn Oaths and Engagements. They teach that Hereticks are to be deſtroy'd, and they have done their utmoſt to apply their own Doctrine, Witneſs the Butcheries committed in *Germany, Poland, Bohemia*, and in the *Netherlands* by the Duke of *Alva*; and eſpecially towards the *Waldenſes*, above a Million of whom have been put to Death in *France*, as ſome have obſerv'd; Witneſs what was done in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Days; the Maſſacre of *Paris*; wherein Cruelty and Perfidy ſeem'd to contend which ſhould moſt triumph: Witneſs the Havock made in *Ireland*, during the Rebellion there, when between two and three hundred thouſand Proteſtants were murdered, with all the Circumſtances of Inhumanity imaginable; but not to inſiſt upon more Particulars; ſome that have ſtrictly enquir'd into theſe Matters, tell us, *That in forty Years* Rome *has been the Death of forty Millions.*

WHAT their Faith is, may be learned from their Catechiſms, Decrees of Councils, *&c.* and eſpecially from their new *Trent-Creed*, ſet forth by Pope *Pius* IV. which being, to ſome Readers, at leaſt, a Matter of Curioſity, I ſhall

here inſert it, and ſubjoin a few Remarks upon it.

AFTER reciting the Twelve Articles of Faith contain'd in the *Nicene Creed*, (which being common and known, I ſhall not fill the Paper with them) they add to them Twelve new Articles of their own in the Order following:

13. "I MOST firmly receive and embrace the "Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical Tradi-"tions, and the reſt of the Obſervances and "Conſtitutions of the Church.

14. "I DO alſo receive the holy Scriptures "in the ſame Senſe that holy Mother Church "does, to whom it belongs to judge of the true "Senſe and Interpretation of them; neither "will I receive nor interpret them otherwiſe, "than according to the unanimous Conſent of "the Fathers.

15. "I DO likewiſe profeſs, that there are "ſeven Sacraments of the new Law, truly and "properly ſo called, inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt "our Lord; and that they are neceſſary to the "Salvation of Mankind, tho' not all of them "to every one, *viz.* Baptiſm, Confirmation, the "Euchariſt, Pennance, Extream Unction, Or-"ders and Matrimony; and that they confer "Grace, and that of theſe, Baptiſm, Confir-"mation and Orders may not be repeated with-"out Sacrilege. I do alſo receive and admit "the received and approved Rites of the Catho-"lick Church, in the ſolemn Adminiſtration "of the above ſaid Sacraments.

16. "I DO embrace and receive all and e-"very Thing that hath been defined and de-"clared by the holy Council of *Trent*, concern-"ing original Sin and Juſtification.

17. "I DO in like Manner profeſs, that in "Maſs is offered a true, proper and propitia-

"tory

" tory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and " and in the moſt holy Sacrament of the Eu- " chariſt, there is truly, really and ſubſtantially " the Body and Blood, together with the Soul " and Divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and " that there is a Change made of the whole " Subſtance of Bread into the Body, and of the " whole Subſtance of Wine into the Blood, " which Change the Catholick Church calls " Tranſubſtantiation.

18. "I BELIEVE alſo that under one Kind " only, a whole and entire Chriſt, and a true " Sacrament is taken.

19. "I DO firmly maintain that there is a " Purgatory, and that the Souls there detained, " are relieved by the Prayers of the Faithful.

20. "I DO likewiſe believe that the Saints " reigning together with Chriſt, are to be wor- " ſhipped and prayed unto, and that they do offer " up Prayers to God for us, and that their Re- " licks are to be worſhipped.

21. "I DO moſt firmly aſſert, that the Im- " ages of Chriſt, and of the Mother of God " always a Virgin, and of the other Saints, " ought to be had and retained, and that due " Honour and Veneration is to be given to " them.

22. "I ALSO affirm that the Power of In- " dulgences was left by Chriſt in the Church, " and that the Uſe of them is very beneficial " to Chriſtian People.

23. "I DO acknowledge the Holy, Catho- " lick, Apoſtolick, Roman Church, to be the " Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches, and do " promiſe and ſwear true Obedience to the Biſh- " op of Rome and the Succeſſor of St. *Peter* the " Prince of the Apoſtles, and Vicar of Jeſus " Chriſt.

24. "I DO alſo without any Doubt receive "and profeſs all other things which have been "deliver'd, defin'd and declar'd, by the Sacred "Canons and General Councils, and eſpecially "by the Holy Council of *Trent:* And all things "contrary thereto, and all Hereſies whatſoever, "condemn'd, rejected and anathematiz'd, by "the Church, I do likewiſe condemn, reject, "and anathematize."

NOW this is their Faith, I can't ſay *once deliver'd to the Saints*, but deliver'd by a Sham-Council to the Church above Fourteen Hundred Years after the Canon of Scripture was finiſh'd. I'll beſtow a few Reflections upon it, and leave it to the further Cenſure of the Reader.

(1.) ONE can't but obſerve what an Idol theſe Men make of the Church; *Great is* Diana, is their Cry in almoſt every Article. In the Thirteenth Article, which is the Firſt of their own Twelve, they declare they receive all the Obſervances and Conſtitutions of the Church, and all its Traditions, ſeveral of which (maintain'd upon * *Demetrius*'s Principles) are here mention'd; as the Seven Sacraments, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, the Worſhipping of departed Souls, their Relicks, *&c.* In the Second Article they tell us, they receive the Scriptures in the Senſe of Holy Mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of the true Senſe and Interpretation of them; by which they are tied down Hand and Foot, and obliged never to open their Eyes more. In the Tenth Article the Church is declared to be poſſeſs'd of the ſovereign and even divine Power of forgiving Sins. In the 12th Article the good Catholick is ſo complaiſant as to ſay *Amen* to all the

* *Acts* 19. 25.

Church's

Church's Anathema's, and to curſe whomſoever ſhe ſhall curſe.

(2.) 'TIS plain from the whole Structure of this Creed, that as the Faith of a true Chriſtian conſiſts in *his Subjection to Chriſt the Mediator*: So the Faith of a Catholick lies in his Subjection to the Church, and a blind Obedience to all its Dictates; as if the Voice that came from Heaven, from the excellent Glory-bearing Teſtimony to the Son of God, * *Hear you him*, had recommended the Pope or the Church in his Stead: And ſo abſolutely do they reſign their † Underſtanding, Reaſon and Conſcience to the Conduct of what they call the Church, that they think it a mortal Sin to reject her Authority in any Inſtances, or diſpute againſt her Deciſions; and in ſuch an unlimited, implicit, blind Submiſſion they ſeem to place that Faith, on which they depend for Salvation.

(3.) THE Reader may obſerve a notable Juggle in the Second Article, where they declare they will not receive nor interpret Scripture, *but according to the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers*. There muſt be ſomething worſe than

* *Mat.* 17. 5.

† The Author of the Frauds of popiſh Monks, in his Obſervations on a Journey to *Naples*, p. 6. tells us, That lighting into the Converſation of an aged *Neapolitan* Abbot, they began to diſcourſe about the *Italian* Clergy, whoſe ſhameful Ignorance the Abbot freely own'd and lamented, not excepting the Pope and Cardinals: Whereupon the Gentleman took occaſion to ask him, Whether he who had been witneſs to ſo much Weakneſs in thoſe that ſat in St. *Peter*'s Chair, could *in good earneſt* receive all their Deciſions as infallible: To which the Abbot anſwer'd, That he rather believ'd them ſuch by *a Faith of the Will, than a Faith of the Underſtanding*; adding, "I can "indeed find nothing that in "a humane Way can perſuade "me of the Truth of 'em; "(*i. e.* of many of their De-"ciſions) but at the ſame "time I perceive in my Soul "a ſecret Biaſs, ſwaying my "Will to believe them; and "this Biaſs, or ſecret Incli-"nation, is nothing elſe but "the Baptiſmal Grace, which "is infus'd into all Chriſtians "at their Baptiſm."

Igno-

Ignorance in this Pretence; for they can't but know there is no ſuch thing as a *unanimous Conſent* of the Fathers in interpreting Scriptures: And beſides, it has been prov'd, even to a Demonſtration, that the Stream of the pureſt and moſt primitive Antiquity is againſt them, in the eſſential and fundamental Points of their Religion, as Popiſh; the contrary of which they would here inſinuate. It was a brave and bold Challenge of Biſhop *Jewel* (which I have mention'd on another * Occaſion) preaching at *Paul's* Croſs *March* 30. 1560. "If (ſays he) "any Learned Men of our Adverſaries be able "to bring *any one* ſufficient Sentence out of "any old Catholick Doctor, Father, or Gene-"ral Council, or *any one* Example in the pri-"mitive Churches, whereby it may be clearly "and plainly prov'd, during the firſt Six hundred "Years, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was then call'd "*Head of the Univerſal Church*, or that People was "taught to believe Tranſubſtantiation." And ſo he goes on, reckoning up the chief Doctrines of Popery to the Number of 27; and adds, "If they can prove any of theſe from the Fa-"thers, he would yield." And yet here we ſee they make it an Article of their Faith to receive the Scripture *only according to the unanimous Conſent of the Fathers*, when they have not *one* of the firſt Fathers on their Side that interpret Scripture as they do.

(4.) How myſterious, inconſiſtent and contradictory is their Faith, as declar'd in the Twelfth of their own new Articles! (*viz.*) "That they do without any Doubt receive and "profeſs all Things which have been deliver'd, "defin'd and declar'd by the ſacred Canons and

* Diſc. againſt Popery, *p.* 195.

"Ge-

" General Councils." But how is this poſſible, when 'tis certain many of their ſacred Canons and Councils contradict one another? As for Inſtance, The Sixth General Council, as it's call'd, defines that Hereſy diſſolves Marriage; the Council of *Trent*, that it doth not. *Julius* I. decreed, that none of either Sex ſhould marry within the Seventh *Degree* of Conſanguinity. *Innocent* III. decreed, that the Prohibition ſhould not exceed the Fourth *Degree* of Conſanguinity and Affinity. The Council of *Trent* condemns Polygamy, and curſes thoſe that maintain that 'tis lawful for Chriſtians to have more Wives than one at the ſame time. *Gregory* III. allows, in Caſe of the Wife's Infirmity, the Husband to take another Wife, if he want the Gift of Continence; only he muſt allow the other a Maintenance. Pope *Gelaſius* II. decreed, that to diſtinguiſh the Catholicks from the *Manichees*, Believers ſhould receive the Sacrament in both Kinds. The Council of *Conſtance* curſeth thoſe that exhort the People to do ſo; and ſometimes *meer Enmity* in one Pope to his Predeceſſor has occaſion'd the reverſing his Decrees, as in the Inſtance of *Stephen* II. towards *Formoſus*. The firſt Act *Stephen* did was to repeal his Decrees; nor did he reſt here, but ſhow'd his Spite to *Formoſus*'s dead Body, which he drag'd from its Sepulchre, haled to Judgment, and paſs'd Sentence upon, as if it had been alive. *Platina* mentioning this Rage of *Stephen*, calls it a *bad Precedent*; the Practice being afterwards very much taken up, that following *Popes* either infring'd or utterly aboliſh'd the Acts of their Predeceſſors. Thus *Romanus*, as ſoon as he got into the Chair, repeal'd the Decrees of *Stephen*; and *Theodorus* renew'd the Acts of *Formoſus*. Now the Queſtion is not which of theſe Popes

and

and Councils we muſt believe; but, How 'tis poſſible to believe and receive all of them.

(5.) ONE need not wonder that the grand Article of their Religion, the Monarchical Supremacy of their Popes, ſhould be profeſs'd by them; but 'tis an Argument of ſtrange Preſumption to inſert it in their Creed as *a neceſſary Point of Faith*, when it has no Foundation in Scripture, nor was own'd in the Church for above 600 Years; and yet in the Eleventh Article they not only acknowledge the Biſhop of *Rome* for Succeſſor of St. *Peter* *, and Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, but ſwear Obedience to him as ſuch. And the like they impoſe upon every Chriſtian to be believ'd on pain of Damnation; tho', as I ſaid, they have no Foundation for it in Scripture, which ſome of them have been aware of, and therefore formerly had recourſe to a Donation from *Conſtantine*, by which they pretended the Biſhops of *Rome* claim'd their Supremacy. In the Eighth Century they forg'd a Deed in that Emperor's Name, advancing the papal Power above other Patriarchs, eſpecially that of *Conſtantinople*, which then rival'd *Rome*. This they pleaded in their Diſputes with the *Greek* Church, and made uſe of as

* The Jeſuits in the College of *Cleremont* have, among their *Theſes*, which they publiſh'd and offer'd to maintain againſt the whole World, this that follows: ---- XIX. "We acknowledge Chriſt to be the "Head of the Church, that, "during his Abſence in Heaven, he hath given the Government of it, firſt to *Peter*, "and then to his Succeſſors; "and hath beſtow'd on his "Succeſſors *the very ſame Infallibility* he himſelf had as "often as they ſpeak *è Cathedra*." Nor, indeed, do they make him Head of the Church, but of the World; and therefore at the Coronation of their Pope uſe a Form of Words that import as much: *Accipe hanc Thiaram tribus Coronis ornatam*, &c. Receive this Diadem adorn'd with three Crowns, and know thy ſelf to be Father of Princes and Kings, Governor of the World, and Vicar on Earth of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Vid. Pontif. Rom.*

long

long as there was Occaſion, and then gave it up: It has ſince been ſufficiently ridicul'd. The Anſwer of the *Venetian* Ambaſſador to the Pope was pleaſant enough: The Pope ask'd him, How the State came to challenge the Dominion of the *Adriatick* Gulph? *If your Holineſs* (ſays the Ambaſſador) *pleaſe to produce the Inſtrument whereby the Emperor* Conſtantine *made over the City of* Rome, *and the Sovereignty of the Church, to your Predeceſſors; upon the Back of that Grant your Holineſs will find the* Venetian *Charter to the Dominion of the Gulph.* But tho' neither *Chriſt* nor *Conſtantine* gave any ſuch Sovereignty to the Biſhops of *Rome*, they have poſſeſs'd and exercis'd it, in one Degree or other, for above a Thouſand Years; and this Council has taken it into its Creed, and made the Belief of it neceſſary to Salvation.

I'LL only obſerve, (6.) That, to make all ſure, an Oath is ſubjoin'd to the Creed, to be taken by Eccleſiaſticks. Having made Profeſſion of their Faith, they add, "This is the true "Catholick Faith, without which no Man can "can be ſaved, and which at this Time I freely "confeſs and truly embrace; and I will take "care, by the Help of God, that the ſame be "retain'd and firmly profeſs whole and inviolate "as long as I live; and that as much as in me "lies, that it be held, taught and preach'd, by "thoſe that are under my Power, and by ſuch "as I ſhall have Charge over in my Profeſſion. "This I *N. N.* do promiſe, vow and ſwear: "So help me God, and theſe his Holy Goſpels." At the Conſecration of a Biſhop they make him not only profeſs his Faith upon Oath, but ſwear Obedience to the Pope, never to diſcover any thing to his Hurt, but aſſiſt him; to defend the Popedom and Royalties of St. *Peter*;

not

not to be in any Council or Treaty, in which any thing prejudicial to the Perſon, Power, or Rights of the Pope, is contriv'd; to impugn and perſecute all Hereticks to the Pope. And of the like Import, and in ſuitable Terms, an Oath is exacted of all Princes: Which, together with Fire, Faggot, Inquiſition, Dragooning, *&c.* are the grand Supports of their Faith; and, indeed, without ſuch Methods of Fraud and Violence, it can't be imagin'd ſuch a Bundle of Abſurdities would ever have obtain'd in the World under the Notion of *Articles of Faith.*

BUT I muſt check my ſelf: I have drawn out the Diſcourſe to too great a Length upon this Head; and yet, after all, can't pretend to have made any thing like a ſufficient Repreſentation of *Popery*; and therefore, as was ſaid before, I ſhall refer the Reader to ſuch Treatiſes of Proteſtant Divines as diſplay the Spirit of Popery more fully, and to the Life; or rather, I would refer to their own Books: Read but their *Miſſal*, *Ritual*, *Breviaries*, *Pontifical*, their *Canon-Law*, *Decretals*, *Bullary*, *Extravagants*, *Pſalterium B. Mariæ* by *Bonaventure*; of which laſt * Dr. *Barlow* ſays, "'Tis the moſt "impious and blaſphemous Piece of Super-"ſtition and Idolatry the Sun ever ſaw; for "whatever in *David*'s Pſalms is ſpoken of "of God or our Bleſſed Saviour, is in that "Pſalter attributed to the Virgin *Mary*." Read the *Horæ* and *Manual* of the Bleſſed Virgin; their *Taxa Cameræ* Apoſt. (of which an Account before); Read the Deciſions of their Councils, and particularly of the Council of *Trent*, which confirms all the reſt: Do

* Genuine Remains.

but

but read, I say, these several Tracts, which are the most authentick Pieces of Divinity and Devotion they have among them, all of them approv'd by their Church, and recommended by the highest Authority, and you'll find enough to convince you, that Popery is such a Corruption of the Christian Religion, such a Complication of mysterious Wickedness, as fully answers all the Scripture Characters of the Antichristian Apostacy.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the Reformation. The Waldenses *Witnesses against the Corruptions of* Rome. Wickliff, John Huss, *and* Jerom *of* Prague, *Witnesses also; the two latter burnt, and* Wickliff's *Bones burnt. The Reformation under King* Henry *the* VIIIth. *The Opposition of the Popish Party to the Translation of the Bible in King* Henry *the* VIIIth's *Time. The Reformation under King* Edward *the* VIth. *The Reformation under Queen* Elizabeth. Heylin's *Glorious Picture of the Church of* England *in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time. All Endeavours to carry the Reformation further rejected.*

Of the Reformation.

AFTER *Religion* had lain bleeding and languishing for many Ages, and almost quite lost out of the World, it pleas'd God to awaken the

the Minds of ſome to endeavour a Revival of it: Indeed the *Waldenſes* were ſteady conſtant Witneſſes, that never withdrew their Teſtimony, but continued to Propheſy, *tho' in Sackcloth*; they are thought to have remained a diſtinct Body from the *Roman* Church all along. *Reinerus* * their bitter Enemy gives this Account of them, "That of all the Sects that ever were, "none were ſo pernicious to the Church of *Rome* "as the *Leoniſts*, or *Waldenſes*; and that for "theſe Reaſons. 1. For their Antiquity and "long Continuance, even from the Time of "Pope *Sylveſter* (who was made Pope in the "Year 316.) or as others have affirmed from the "very Time of the Apoſtles. 2. For the Ge-"nerality of that Sect, becauſe there was "ſcarce any Country where they were not. "3. When all other Hereticks, by Reaſon of "their Blaſphemies againſt God, were abhorr'd, "the *Waldenſes* had a great Appearance of Pi-"ety; becauſe they lived juſtly before Men, "believed all Things well of God, and held "all the Articles of the Creed, *only they blaſ-"phemed the Church* and the Clergy of *Rome*.

BUT beſides theſe brave Champions for the Cauſe of Chriſt, others were at length raiſed up, who in their ſeveral Places contended for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, and againſt the Corruptions and Abominations of *Rome*: *John Wickliff*, Divinity Profeſſor in *Oxford*, was one of the firſt that diſtinguiſhed himſelf here in *England*; he tranſlated the Bible in the vulgar Tongue, wrote ſeveral good Books of Divinity, from which many received no ſmall Light: The Council of *Conſtance* afterwards, not only condemned his Doctrine, but

* Contra *Waldenſes*, cap. 14.

his

his Bones to the Flames; accordingly they were taken up by the Order of Pope *Martin* *, *Wickliff's* Bones burnt.

The next conſiderable Perſons that engaged in this Quarrel were *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*; both of whom are ſaid to have borrowed their Light from *Wickliff's* Lamp, by Means of one of *Wickliff's* Scholars (*Peter Pain*) who fleeing into *Bohemia* for Sanctuary, took ſome of his Maſter's Books with him, which the famous *Huſs* met with, and as † *Cochleus* ſays, tranſlated into his Mother Tongue. *Jerom of Prague* joined with him, and by their Endeavours ſuch a Light was kindled in *Bohemia*, that all the Arts of *Rome* have not been able wholly to extinguiſh; and tho' the Council of *Conſtance* burnt both theſe holy Men at the Stake, contrary to the Faith of the ſafe Conduct granted them, the Death of the Martyrs was not the Death of their Cauſe ‖: They

* This Account is given of *Wickliff* in *Lyndwood*, that he was an Arch Heretick that revived many ancient Hereſies in England, by whoſe Doctrine all *Bohemia* was intoxicated, ſo that Pope *Martin* 5. did in the Year 1429. raiſe a Croiſade againſt theſe Rebells, adding that by the Command and Doctrine of the Apoſtolic See, the Body of the ſaid *Wickliff* with his Bones, were burnt at *Lutterworth* in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, and his Aſhes thrown into the next River, for the aboliſhing his Memory. *Lyndwood* Conſtit. lib. 5, Tit. 4. in Verbo *Wickliff*.

† Hiſt *Huſſit.* Lib. 1. *p.* 8.

‖ It would ſeem theſe Men, like *Sampſon*, did more Service to Religion, and Prejudice to their Enemies at their Death, than by their Life; ſuch was the Chriſtian Behaviour of *Huſs* particularly, that the Spectators were not a little affected with it, and it is ſaid, broke out into theſe Expreſſions, "What this Man hath "taught or done, we know "not, but certainly, *iſta ſunt* "*non minora vera Pietatis Indicia*, "theſe are the greateſt Tokens "of true Piety. And *Pogbius* ſays of *Jerom*, "That he "was a Man worthy of eter-"nal Fame, that there was "no juſt Cauſe of Death in "him," and having repreſented him dying in Triumph, he adds, "*Vidi hunc Exitum, Sin-*"*gulos actus perſpexi*, I was "an Eye Witneſs to his Death "and to all that paſſed."

Faſc. rerum expet et fugiend.

died like *Christian Heroes*. * *Enæas Sylvius* says of them, that they went to the Burning *quasi ad Epulas invitati*, as if going to a Banquet. *Huss* it seems, had a particular Mark of Infamy put upon him, as they designed it. They made a Crown of Paper with three Devils painted on it, and this Inscription or Title upon it (THE ARCH HERETICK;) upon the Sight of which *Huss* cries out, *My Lord Jesus for my Sake wore a Crown of Thorns, and shall not I for his Sake wear this Crown, be it never so shameful?* And it is said of *Jerom of Prague*, that when the Tormentor kindled the Fire behind his Back, he bid him make it in his Sight; for, says he, if I had feared the Fire I had never come hither; and while the Fire was making, he sung Psalms.

I WILL only take Notice of one Circumstance more, relating to the Death of *Huss*, that turning to the Prelates who were present on that Occasion, he expressed himself thus; *Centum revolutis annis, Deo respondebitis & mihi* †. Ye shall answer for this a hundred Years hence, both to God and me. And some tell us that he added, *You roast the Goose now, but a Swan shall arise, whom you shall not be able to burn, as you do the poor weak Goose.* Now *Huss* in the *Bohemian* Language signifies a Goose, as *Luther* does a Swan; and *just a hundred Years after, Luther* rises up, and gives them a deeper Wound than ever they had yet received (as it were requiring the Blood of *Huss* and *Jerom* of them;) and we know the Swan could never be taken, but dies in her Nest, after she had sung the glad Tydings of the Gospel to the last. This was,

* Hist. *Bohemia*, cap. 36.

† Martin Mylius Apophthegm. Meriens. p. 93.

as

as I said, *just a hundred Years after*, and it seems an Accomplishment of the Prediction; for as *Huss* was martyr'd in 1416, *Luther* comes upon the Stage in the Year 1516. having receiv'd Light and Excitation from a Book of *Huss*'s, sent by some *Bohemians* into *Germany*.

How this Great and Good Man began and went on with his Work, under the Protection and Encouragement of *Frederic* Duke of *Saxony*, and others; and what Struggles he had with the Pope and his Creatures, is fully related by *Sleidan*, in his excellent History of the *Reformation*, whither I refer; and shall only add a few Passages for a Taste of *Luther*'s Spirit.

Some have told us, that *Luther* being sent to *Rome*, as a Messenger from his Convent, to procure the Decision of certain Controversies that arose about the Privileges of the Monks, he then met with his first Disgust; And that afterwards, when Matters were more clear'd up to him, he us'd to say, He would not have been without that Journey for a thousand Florens. But however this be, 'tis certain he took no small Offence at the Matter of Indulgences, which Pope *Leo* the Xth (wanting a Sum of Money for a Dowry for his Sister, and other Occasions) caus'd to be publish'd in *Germany*. The Pope sends his Hucksters thither to proclaim Indulgences, and force the Sale of 'em all manner of Ways they could; and such was their Management of their Spiritual Merchandize, that 'twas enough to scandalize all the World. A Dominican Friar, that was one of these Traders, boasted his Commission was so large from the Pope, that if a Man had deflower'd the Blessed Virgin, he could pardon the Sin. *Luther* takes fire at such Villany, and remonstrates against it; and upon further En-

quiry, carries his Complaints to other Things, publiſhes his 95 *Theſes*, in which he handled the Doctrine of Purgatory, Pennance, *&c.* and writes ſeveral other Books againſt the Corruptions of the Church, and the Abuſe of Eccleſiaſtical Power, tho' without any preſent Deſign (as would ſeem) of falling out with the Pope, and departing from *Rome*; he only deſires a General Council, and Redreſs in ſome Things, ſtill profeſſing a high * Veneration for his Holineſs, and a Readineſs to acquieſce in all his Deciſions.

But afterwards he gains more Light and Strength, and appears with new Zeal and Vigour: To which, it may be, his Retirement from *Wittenberg*, and the Time he ſpent in his Retirement did not a little contribute. It form'd his Mind to a clearer Conception of the Goſpel, and gave him a deeper Abhorrence of Popery, as a Deviation from it. He had indeed before burnt the Canon Law and the Pope's Bull in the Preſence of a great many Students at *Wittenberg* †, alledging, That 'twas his Duty *as baptized into the Faith of Chriſt*; and as a Profeſſor and Preacher of the Goſpel, to oppoſe whatſoever contradicts the Precepts therein contain'd: But now he comes forth more confirm'd, and with more of the Courage and Reſolution of a Reformer.

How much of the Spirit of a Confeſſor was there in that || Declaration of his, in his

* Thus, after he had publiſh'd his Explication of his *Theſes* concerning Indulgence, he writes to his Holineſs, not to give Credit to his Accuſers, tells him he ſubmitted all his Writings, nay, his Life and Safety to his Authority and Diſpoſal, that he would look upon what proceeded from his Holineſs as if it flow'd from Chriſt, and was deliver'd by an Oracle: Nor did he refuſe to lay down his Life, if it ſo ſeem'd good to him.——*Sleid.* p. 2.

† *Sleid.* p. 39.

|| Id. ibid. p. 54.

Book

Book against false Bishops, (*viz.*) "That the "Doctrine he profess'd was not his, but Christ's; "and that the more Rage they vented against "him, the more resolutely he was resolv'd to pro"ceed in spite of all their Fury and Madness; "that tho' they should cut his Throat, yet his "Doctrine should prove immortal; that Christ "liv'd and reign'd for ever, who would in his "own due Time put a Stop to their bloody "Designs; that he heartily thank'd God for "delivering him out of the dark Dungeon of "so many filthy Errors and false Doctrines, "and enlightening him with the true Know"ledge of his Word; that therefore he would "not for the future submit his Writings to their "Censures: That he had condescended too "much at *Worms*; but that now he was so "certain of his Doctrine, that he would not "submit it to the Judgment, no not of an An"gel; but by the Evidence thereof, would "judge, not only himself, and them all, but "even Angels also: That if it pleas'd God to "bless him with longer Life, he would use his "utmost Diligence that the Gospel should be "preach'd to all People: That they (*viz.* his "Adversaries the Bishops) sought after their "own Ease and Quietness, and to lead a vo"luptuous Life; and that he would make it his "Business that they should not enjoy that Peace "which they so earnestly sought after: And "that however they deal with him, God would "never cease to prosecute them, till he either "utterly destroy'd them, or made them beg "pardon for their Fault of the invincible Lord "of Hosts: That he heartily wish'd that they "might repent and submit to sound Counsel "in Time; but if that could not be obtain'd, "he bid them everlasting Defiance, and was

"resolved never to be reconciled with them: "And whereas some made his Freedom of "Speech a Crime, he urg'd, that it was ne- "ceſſary to take this Courſe, when the Go- "vernors of the Church were unconcern'd, "impious and obſtinate, and would neither "do their Duty themſelves, nor ſuffer others "to do it for them, who were both able and "willing to ſet about it."

AND he kept up to this Reſolution, and went forward with an undaunted Courage and Bravery; neither Threatnings nor Promiſes could make him deſiſt from his Enterprize, or yield in the leaſt to his Adverſaries. He had, it ſeems, large Promiſes of Preferment made him, even the Popedom was mention'd by Cardinal *Cajetan*, as what he might hope for, if he ſtopp'd the Schiſm, and made his Peace with the Church: But the Bait would not take; none of theſe Things mov'd him; he was invincible to ſuch Temptations: Which made his Enemies ſay, *Germana illa Beſtia non curat Aurum*; That Beaſt of *Germany* deſpiſeth Gold. Nor were their Anathema's, Curſes, and Menaces of Death more effectual. When his Friends would have diſſuaded him from going to *Wormes*, and put him in mind of the Fate of *Jerome* of *Prague* and *John Huſs*, he declares himſelf determin'd to go thither, *tho' all the Tiles of the Houſes were Devils*. Being ready, with the Apoſtle *Paul*, in a Caſe not unlike, *not only to be bound, but die for the Name of the Lord Jeſus*.

SEVERAL were join'd with him in this great Undertaking, as *Melancton*, *Pellican*, *Fabricius*, *Sturmius*, *Bucer*, *Zuinglius*, &c. and ſuch was the Succeſs of his and their Endeavours, that in the Year 1529. many of the Cities and Princes

Princes of *Germany* openly avow'd the Cauſe; and gave a noble Inſtance of their Zeal, by joining in a Proteſtation againſt a Decree of the Diet of *Spire* (ſummon'd by the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, with Deſign to put a Stop to any further Reformation, and for the Liberty of Religion, which is the Original of the Name of *Proteſtants*) as they did afterwards in a League at *Smalcalde*.

IN *England* nothing of this Nature was attempted in a publick Way, and with Countenance of Authority; yet many privately favour'd *Luther*'s Opinion, and ſeveral Books of the new Doctrine (as it was call'd) were brought over, tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, and read with great Applauſe. The memorable Mr. *Tindal* had the Courage at this Time to undertake a Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*; in which there are ſeveral valuable and very pertinent Notes interſpers'd. "This "(ſays Dr. *Burnet* *) was printed in the Year "1526. againſt which there was a Prohibition "publiſh'd by every Biſhop in his Dioceſs, "bearing, that ſome of *Luther*'s Followers had "erroneouſly tranſlated the New Teſtament, "and had corrupted the Word of God, both "by a falſe Tranſlation, and by heretical Gloſ-"ſes; and therefore all were charg'd, that had "any of theſe, to bring them in within thirty "Days, under the Pain of Excommunication, "and incurring the Suſpicion of Hereſy." But this and ſuch like Terrors did not wholly extinguiſh the Light that was breaking in upon the Land; many kept their Teſtaments, and had other good Books of *Tindal*'s Writing, and even ſome in the Univerſities favour'd the Reforma-

* Hiſt. of the Reformation, Part I. p. 31.

tion, as *Bilney*, *Latimer*, &c. and ſome Societies in *London*, tho' under very great Diſcouragements; being not only branded as *Hereticks*, with the infamous Name of *Lollards*, (from *Lolium* it may be, being eſteem'd a Sort of Tares among the Wheat of the Church) but proſecuted even unto Death. And it ſeems King *Henry* the VIIIth (ſuch was his Zeal at that Time) took up the Cudgels, and wrote a Book againſt *Luther*, in which he defends the Papacy, and cenſures *Luther*'s Doctrine about Indulgences and the Seven Sacraments; and, which was more diſcouraging to *Luther*, endeavours to take off his chief Friend the Duke of *Saxony* from his Aſſiſtance: For which, and other good Services, the Pope not only gave the King the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, but preſented him with a Golden * Roſe; which (according to Cuſtom) he had conſecrated three Weeks before *Eaſter*, as a Token of his ſpecial Favour towards him.

Reformation under King *Henry* VIII.

BUT ſome Time after, the King changes his Thoughts and his Courſe, and having fallen out with the Pope about the Matter of his Divorce, begins to favour the *Reformation*; he writes a Book againſt the Tyranny of the Pope, gets himſelf declared Head of the Church of *England*, next under Chriſt; denies the Pope's Ju-

* This glorious Preſent was convey'd to the King by *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Pope's Order for doing of it we have in † *Sub fin.* † *Lyndwood*, which I ſhall tranſcribe. *Chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum* Henricum, *Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, quem peculiari charitate complectimur aliquo inſigni Apoſtolico munere, in hoc Regni ſui primordio decorandum putantes; mittimus nunc ad eum Roſam auream ſancto criſmate delibutam, & odorifico muſco aſperſam, noſtriſque manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei à tua Fraternitate inter Miſſarum Solennia per te celebranda cum ceremoniis in Notulis contentis dari volumus cum noſtra & Apoſtolica benedictione. Datum apud Sanctum* Petrum, *ſub annulo Piſcatoris*, &c.

riſdiction

riſdiction in his Dominions, makes it Death for any to maintain it, diſcharges his Subjects from paying *Peter-pence*, *Annates*, *&c.* diſſolves the Monaſteries and religious Houſes, as they were called; which appeared upon this Rifling and Diſſection, to be the greateſt Neſts of Uncleanneſs, Villany and * Impoſture the World ever ſaw: Nor did the Shrines of the Saints eſcape him; many of which were uſed with ſome Fredom, particularly *Becket*'s at *Canterbury*, which was † enriched to a prodigious Degree by

* The Blood of Chriſt at *Hales*, found to be nothig but the Blood of a *Duck*, is known; as alſo the *Brood of Grace*. One of their Juggles came out to their no little Confuſion. They had at *Boxley* in *Kent*, a famous Crucifix, that was exceeding courteous and obliging; it would ſometimes move the Head, the Eyes, and bend the whole Body, to expreſs the receiving of Prayers; and other Geſtures were uſed at other Times, to ſignify the rejecting of them. Great Offerings were made to ſuch a wonderful Image. One *Partridge* ſuſpected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he ſaw the whole impoſture evidently. There were ſeveral Springs within it, by which all theſe Motions were made. It was brought to *Maidſtone*, and expoſed to all the People there; from thence it was carried to *London*, ſhown to the King and his Court, and all its Motions perſormed in their Sight. Whereupon the King's Council ordered a Sermon to be preached at *Paul*'s by the Biſhop of *Rochester*; wherein the Impoſture was fully laid open; and after Sermon the Idol burnt. *Biſhop of* Sarum's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*. Part 3d. Pag. 142.

† *Becket* was extolled by our *Engliſh* Votaries, above moſt of the Saints in Heaven: They not only appointed him one Day in the Year, (29th of *October*) but the Day of raiſing his Body, or his Tranſlation, as they called it (*July* 7) was an Holiday: and every 50th Year there was a Jubilee for fifteen Days together; and Indulgence was granted to all ſuch as would come and viſit his Shrine; and in one Year, ſays *Sommers*, no leſs than one Hundred Thouſand came to viſit him. *Antiq. of Cant.* What Reputation he had with the Saint Worſhippers, may be interred from the Account given of the Offerings made to the three greateſt Altars in Chriſt's Church, which ſtood thus for one Year.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
At *Chriſt*'s Altar	3	2	6
At the *Virgin*'s	63	5	6
At *Becket*'s	832	12	6

But this was before the Saint was fully known, I ſuppoſe, and his Character eſtabliſhed in the World; for the next Year

by the mad Devotion of thoſe Times. He ſtrips the Saint naked, and finds other Uſe for the Treaſure, than to adorn the Carcaſs of a dead Man; nor did he think this any more Sacrilege, than tearing the Bark off a rotten Tree. 'Tis ſaid, there was among the Treaſure one Stone, the richeſt in *Europe*, that *Lewis* VII. of *France* (coming hither in Pilgrimage to pay his Reſpects to *St. Becket*) beſtowed on him, which King *Henry* afterwards wore on his Ring. Several of the Popiſh Holy-days were alſo by *Cranmer*'s Means aboliſhed; they were ſo exceeding numerous, that he juſtly counted them a Burden to the People, a Let to Buſineſs, and only ſerving to nouriſh Superſtition, and keep up an idolatrous Regard to the Saints.

LITTLE was done in Doctrine, tho' the good Biſhop (*Cranmer*) earneſtly endeavoured to have that reformed as well as other Things, and to purge the Church of the groſs Errors that had crept into it: The greateſt Step he could take to this Purpoſe, was to get the Lord's Prayer, the ten Commandments, and the Creed explained, and recommended to the reading of the People. This was done in a Treatiſe called, *A neceſſary Erudition for any Chriſtian Man.* It ſometimes went under the Name *of the Biſhop's Book*, and ſometimes *the King's Book*, by which (though many popiſh Errors were ſtill retained, yet) a great deal of Light broke in upon the Church.

Year the Odds were greater, and good St. Thomas carries all before him. The Account was thus:

	l.	s.	d.
At *Chriſt*'s Altar	0	0	0
At the *Virgin*'s	4	1	8
At St. *Thomas*'s	954	6	3

SOME

SOME Attempts were also made for reforming the *Canon Law*. The Arch-bishop thought it highly unreasonable, since they had cast off the Pope's Power, they should yet retain his corrupt Laws. And therefore the better to accomplish his Design, makes a Collection of certain Passages out of the *Canon-Law*, by which he thought the Necessity of correcting and amending the whole, would be manifest to all. We have this Collection in *Dr. Burnet**. Some† Particulars of which the Reader may find in the Margin. Hereupon, by the Advice of *Cranmer*, an Act is past in the Year 1544. em-

* Collect. of Records, P. 1. p. 257.

† He that acknowledges not himself to be under the Bishop of *Rome*; and that the Bishop of *Rome* is ordained to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be saved; and is not of the Flock of Christ. Princes Laws if they be against the Decrees and Canons of the Bishop of *Rome*, be of no Force nor Strength.

All the Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, as *God's Word spoken by the Mouth* of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, they blaspheme the Holy Ghost; and shall have no Forgiveness.

The See of *Rome* hath neither Spot nor Wrinkle in it, nor can it err.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath Authority to judge all Men, and especially to discern the Articles of Faith, and that without any Council, and may assoil them that the Council hath damned. The Bishop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, &c.

The Emperor is the Bishop of *Rome*'s Subject; and the Bishop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Matters. The Bishop of *Rome* may be judged of none but God only; tho' he draw down with him innumerable People by Heaps to Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World presume to reprehend him, *For God may be judged of no Man.*

It appertains to the Bishop of *Rome*, to judge what Oaths ought to be kept, and what not. We obtain Remission of Sins by observing certain Feasts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed Times, *by Virtue of the Bishop of* Rome's *Pardon*. A penitent Person can have no Remission of Sins, but by the Supplication of the Priests. These, and such like, are the Canons and Laws of the infallible Church, all of equal Authority, as they pretend, with the Word of God.

powering

powering his Majeſty to appoint a certain Number of Perſons, to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, and to draw up ſuch Laws Eccleſiaſtical as ſhall be thought fit by the King and them, to be uſed in all Spiritual Courts; and accordingly the Work was undertaken and brought to that Perfection, that it wanted nothing but the Confirmation of the King; and it ſeems, there was a Letter drawn up for the King to ſign, but it was never ſign'd, and ſo the Project in a great Meaſure miſcarried at that time.

IT does not appear that the publick Prayers of the Church were yet* generally in *Engliſh*, tho' ſome occaſional Prayers and Suffrages us'd in their Proceſſions were ſet forth in *Engliſh* by the King's Authority, with a Mandate to *Bonner* to publiſh 'em †. In this Form of Proceſſion was a Litany, in which they invocated the *Virgin, Angels, Arch-Angels, and all Holy Orders of Bleſſed Spirits, all Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Confeſſors*, &c. nor were the Forms of Prayer then much changed. "The Biſhops (ſays Dr.

* Dr. *Nichols*, in his Preface to his Comment on the Common-Prayer, *p.* 4. ſays, "That "in the Year 1545. the King's "Primmer came forth, wherein are contain'd, not only "the *Lord's-Prayer, Creed*, and "*Ten Commandments*, but alſo "the *Morning* and *Evening* "*Prayer* in *Engliſh*, not much "different from what 'tis in "our Common-Prayer Books; "with a Preface to it, ſhewing the Neceſſity of Uniformity in Prayer, and of young Perſons being inſtructed "therein. In this Primmer, "the *Venite, Te Deum*, the *Lord's* "*Prayer, Creed*, &c. are the "very ſame Tranſlation now "us'd in our Common-Prayer "Book. Some time after this, "the *Litany* was publiſh'd in "*Engliſh*, ſomething different "from what it is now, and "permitted to be read in "Churches on *Wedneſdays* and "*Fridays*." He adds, "This "was as much as could be "brought to bear in the Reformation of liturgical Matters "during the King's Reign." And it may be more, for that they had *Morning* and *Evening Prayer* in *Engliſh*, is not own'd that I can ſee by our Hiſtorians.

† *Strype*'s Memor. *p.* 128.

"*Burnet*

" *Burnet* ||) that were appointed to examine the " Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, made " ſuch *inconſiderable and ſlight* Alterations, that " there was no need of reprinting either the " Miſſals, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a " few Raſures of thoſe Collects, in which the " Pope was prayed for, of *Thomas Becket*'s Of- " fice, and the Offices of other Saints, whoſe " Days were by the King's Injunctions no longer " to be obſerv'd, with ſome other Deletions " made, that the old Book did *ſtill* ſerve."

NAY, ſuch Proteſtants were they, and ſuch a Reformation this, that the Bible, the only Rule of Reformation, could ſcarce get leave to ſhow it's Head. Indeed the King was for the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue, and often recommended it, and ſomething was done this Way at ſeveral times; but ſo unſteady was he in the Matter, and ſo much ſway'd by popiſh Councils, that the *Word of God never had free Courſe in his Reign* *. By an Act of Parliament in the Year 1549. and of the King 35. all the Books of the Old and New Teſtament of † *Tindal*'s Tranſlation (which is call'd *Crafty, Falſe, Untrue,*

Oppoſition by the popiſh Party to the Tranſlation of the Bible.

|| *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Ref. *Pt* 1. *p.* 129.

* Id. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 122.

† It may not be unacceptable to give a ſhort Account of the Attempts made to introduce the Uſe of the Holy Scriptures in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and what Oppoſition it met with, which I ſhall do from Mr. *Strype*. He tells us, that about the Year 1526. the New Teſtament of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation was firſt brought into *England*, being printed in ſome Foreign Parts (he ſuppoſes at *Hamburgh* or *Antwerp*) but preſently forbid by *Wolſey*; and ſoon after *Tonſtal* and Sir *Thomas More* bought up the whole Impreſſion, and burnt 'em at St. *Paul*'s *Croſs*. *Tindal* goes to work again, and reprints the New Teſtament about the Year 1530. which Year he (*Tindal*) was martyr'd at *Villefort* in *Flanders* (ſays *Baker* in his Chronicle) for tranſlating into *Engliſh* the New Teſtament and part of the Old; which, being ſent over into *England*, was diſperſed by his Brother *John Tindal*, and *Thomas Patmore*, Merchants. But this could not be born, they muſt ſuffer for ſuch Preſumption, and accordingly were adjudg'd in the Star-

Untrue) are forbidden to be kept, or us'd in the King's Dominions; and tho' other Bibles were allow'd under certain Reſtrictions, yet no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, under the Degree of Yeomen, no Husbandmen nor Labourers might read them.

So that 'tis plain, the Reformation advanc'd but a little Way in this King's time, being himſelf in Reality *more than half a Papiſt*, as appears by ſundry Paſſages in his *Will*, and from the famous *Six Articles* that were groſs Popery,

Star-chamber to ride with their Faces to the Horſe-tail, having Papers on their Heads, and Teſtaments tack'd to their Gowns, which they themſelves were to throw into a Fire made for that Purpoſe, and then to be fin'd at the King's Pleaſure, and were actually fin'd Eighteen thouſand four hundred and forty pounds ten ſhillings and ten pence. In the Year 1531. *Stokely*, Biſhop of *London*, caus'd all the New Teſtaments of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation to be burnt in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*. In the Year 1537. the whole Bible, containing the Old and New Teſtament, call'd *Matthew*'s *Bible*, of *Tindal*'s and *Roger*'s Tranſlation, was printed by *Grafton* at *Hamburgh*, and was by *Cromwel* and *Canterbury*'s Means, at the King's Command, ſet up in all Pariſh Churches. But this promis'd no good to Holy Church, and therefore the Crafts-men cry amain againſt it; apprehending if this was allow'd, (*viz.* a Bible in a known Language) *their Craft would be in Danger of being ſet at nought*; and by their Inſinuations they prevail with the King to deliver it up to them; who accordingly put to flight thoſe that were concern'd in the Work, ſeiz'd the Books, and burnt 'em as *Heretical*.

Notwithſtanding this, thro' *Cromwel* the Vicar-General, his Intereſt with the King, the Bible was again printed; (for, indeed, throughout the latter Part of this Reign, ſometimes *Iſrael*, and ſometimes *Amalek* prevail'd) and the King by Proclamation order'd it ſhould be provided in every Pariſh, limiting the Price, and fixing the Time of procuring it; adding a Penalty of 40 *s.* a Month in caſe of Neglect. But in a Year or two (1542-3) the popiſh Biſhops are in the Aſcendant again, the Bible ſuppreſs'd again. *Grafton* the Printer impriſon'd, who was forc'd for his Liberty to give in 300 *l.* Bail, that he would neither ſell nor print any more Bibles till the *King* and *Clergy* ſhould agree upon a Tranſlation, and 'twas now, I ſuppoſe, they procur'd the Order from the King againſt reading of the Bible in the Church, and for confining it to certain Perſons mention'd above. My Author adds, "From henceforth the "Bible was ſtopp'd during the "Remainder of King *Henry*'s "Reign." *Strype*'s Memorial of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Lib. I. cap. 21.

and

and upon which many Proteſtants ſuffer'd Death.

I SHALL here inſert the Articles, that the Reader may ſee what a Day of ſmall Things it then was.

(1.) "THAT in the Sacrament of the Altar, "after the Words of Conſecration, there re-"main'd no Subſtance of Bread and Wine; but "under theſe Forms, the natural Body and "Blood of Chriſt was preſent.

(2.) "THAT Communion in both Kinds was "not neceſſary to Salvation, to all Perſons by "the Law of God; but that both the Fleſh "and Blood of Chriſt were together in each of "the Kinds.

(3.) "THAT Prieſts, after the Order of Prieſt-"hood, might not marry by the Law of God.

(4.) "THAT Vows of Chaſtity ought to be "obſerved by the Law of God.

(5.) "THAT the Uſe of private Maſſes "ought to be continued; which, as 'twas a-"greeable to God's Law, ſo Men received "great Benefit by them.

(6.) "THAT Auricular Confeſſion was ex-"pedient and neceſſary, and ought to be re-"tained in the Church."

THESE were eſtabliſh'd by the Parliament *Anno* 1539. The Title of the Act was, *An Act for aboliſhing Diverſity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion.* And to give their Law the ſharper Edge, it was enacted, That if any, after the 11th of *July*, did ſpeak, preach, or write againſt the firſt Article, they were to be judged as Hereticks, and be burnt without any Abjuration, and to forfeit their real and perſonal Eſtates to the King: And thoſe that preach'd, or obſtinately diſputed againſt the other Articles, were to be judged

as

as Felons, and ſuffer Death as Felons, without Benefit of Clergy, *&c.* And thus in the midſt of the Reformation a Check is given to it, its Friends diſcouraged, and its Enemies triumph: A Multitude of very worthy Men ſuffer upon this Act; which therefore was call'd by ſome *the bloody Statute*, or *Whip with ſix Cords*. It was indeed as common to condemn Proteſtants as Papiſts, the one for adhering to the Supremacy of the Pope, and the other for adhering to the Supremacy of Chriſt. There were burnt on one * Day at *London* three Proteſtants and three Papiſts; the former on the Account of the Six Articles, and the latter for eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Pope, and the divorc'd Queen. One of the Proteſtants was Dr. *Barnes*, who had been ſent by the King Ambaſſador to the Reformed at *Wittenberg* †: And it ſeems *Latimer* and *Hooper* narrowly eſcaped; the one retiring, having reſigned his Biſhoprick, and the other fleeing beyond Seas to *Zurick* in *Switzerland*.

AND having thus touch'd upon the Reformation in its Dawn under King *Henry*, I go on to conſider it in its Progreſs under his Son and Succeſſor *Edward* the VIth.

THE young King was crown'd *Feb.* 20. 1546. *Cranmer* aſſiſted in the Solemnity, and made an excellent Speech to the King on that Occaſion, found in the Collections of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and publiſh'd by Mr. *Strype* ‖ in his Memorials. In which, having explained the Ceremonies then us'd, he puts them in mind, "That the Biſhop of *Rome* (or other "Biſhops owning his Supremacy) hath no Au- "thority to condition with Monarchs on theſe "Ceremonies. Adding, "That however he

* *July* 15. 1540. † *Sleidan*, p. 169. ‖ Page 144.

"might

" might faithfully declare what God requires " at the Hands of Kings and Rulers, *viz.* Re- " ligion and Virtue: Therefore *(says he)* not " from the Biſhop of *Rome*, but as a Meſſenger " from my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I ſhall humbly " admoniſh your Royal Highneſs, what Things " your Royal Highneſs is to perform." Where- upon he tells him, " That, as Chriſt's Vicar, " within his own Dominions, he was to ſee " God truly worſhipped, Idolatry deſtroy'd, the " Tyranny of the Biſhops of *Rome* baniſh'd " from his Subjects, and Images remov'd, *&c.*

AND now the good Biſhop having a favoura- ble Proſpect of Things under this hopeful young Prince, whom he had call'd in his Coronation- Speech (by Way of Admonition at leaſt) a Se- cond *Joſias*, he addreſſes himſelf to the Work his Heart had been ſo much ſet upon with new Vigour and Reſolution.

THE firſt Thing of Conſequence he obtain- ed was a Royal Viſitation, with a Book of Injunctions for the Management of it. Theſe Injunctions are printed at large in *Sparrow*'s Col- lections: We have an Abſtract of them in Dr. *Fuller* *, which I ſhall tranſcribe as a Specimen of the State of the Reformation at that Time.

1. THAT all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons obſerve the Laws for aboliſhing the pretended and uſurped Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and Confirmation of the King's Authority and Su- premacy.

2. THAT once a Quarter at leaſt they ſin- cerely declare the Word of God, diſſuading their People from Superſtitious Fancies of Pil- grimages, praying to Images, *&c.* exhorting

* Hiſtory, *Lib.* 7. *p.* 372.

them to the Works of Faith, Mercy and Charity.

3. THAT Images abus'd with Pilgrimages, and Offerings thereunto, be forthwith taken down and deſtroy'd: And that no more Wax-Candles or Tapers be burnt before any Image; but only two Lights upon the High Altar before the Sacrament ſhall remain ſtill, to ſignify that Chriſt is the very Light of the World.

4. THAT every Holy-Day, when they have no Sermon, the *Pater-Noſter*, *Credo* and *Ten Commandments*, ſhall plainly be recited in the Pulpit to the Pariſhioners.

5. THAT Parents and Maſters beſtow their Children and Servants, either to Learning, or ſome honeſt Occupation.

6. THAT ſuch who, in Caſes expreſs'd in the Statute, are abſent from their Benefices, leave learned and expert Curates.

7. THAT within three Months after this Viſitation, the Bible of the larger Volume in *Engliſh*, and within twelve Months, *Eraſmus's* Paraphraſe on the Goſpel, be provided and conveniently placed in the Church for People to read therein.

8. THAT no Eccleſiaſtical Perſons haunt Alehouſes or Taverns, or any Place of unlawful Gaming.

9. THAT they examine ſuch who come to them in *Lent*, whether they can recite the *Creed*, *Pater-Noſter* and *Ten Commandments*, in *Engliſh*, before they receive the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, or elſe they ought not to preſume to come to God's Board.

10. THAT none be admitted to preach, except ſufficiently licens'd.

11. THAT if they have heretofore extol'd Pilgrimages, Relicks, Worſhipping of Images, &c. the

they now openly recant, and reprove the ſame, as a common Error groundleſs in Scripture.

12. That they detect and preſent ſuch who are Letters of the Word of God in *Engliſh*, and Fautors of the Biſhop of *Rome* his pretended Power.

13. That a Regiſter-Book be carefully kept in every Pariſh for Weddings, Chriſtenings and Burials.

14. That all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons not reſident upon their Benefices, and able to diſpend yearly Twenty Pounds and above, ſhall really, in the Preſence of the Church-Wardens, or ſome other honeſt Men, diſtribute the fourth Part of their Revenues amongſt the Poor of the Pariſh.

15. That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhall give competent Exhibition to ſo many Scholars of one of the Univerſities, as he hath Hundred Pounds *per Ann.* in Church-Promotions.

16. That the fifth Part of their Benefices be beſtow'd on their Manſion-Houſes, or their Chancels, till they be fully repair'd.

17. That he read theſe Injunctions once a Quarter.

18. That no Perſon henceforth ſhall alter any Faſting-Day that is commanded, or Manner of Common-Prayer, or Divine-Service, (otherwiſe than ſpecified in theſe Injunctions) until otherwiſe order'd by the King's Authority.

19. That every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, under the Degree of Batchelor of Divinity, ſhall, within three Months after this Viſitation, provide of his own, the New-Teſtament in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, with *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe thereon; and that Biſhops by themſelves, and their Officers, ſhall examine them how much they have profited in the Study of Holy Scripture.

20. THAT in the Time of High-Maſs, he that ſayeth or ſingeth a Pſalm, ſhall read the Epiſtle or Goſpel in *Engliſh*, and one Chapter in the New-Teſtament at Mattens, and another at Even-Song; and that when nine Leſſons are to be read in the Church, three of them ſhall be emitted with Reſponds; and at Even-Song, the Reſponds, with all the Memories.

21. THAT, to prevent in Sick Perſons the damnable Vice of Deſpair, they ſhall learn, and always have in Readineſs, ſuch comfortable Places and Sentences of Scriptures, as do ſet forth the Mercy, Benefits and Goodneſs of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing Perſons.

22. TO avoid all Contention and Strife, which heretofore have riſen among the King's Subjects, by challenging Places in Proceſſion, no Proceſſion hereafter ſhall be us'd about the Church or Church-yard; but immediately before High-Maſs, the *Litany* ſhall be diſtinctly ſaid or ſung in *Engliſh*, none departing the Church without juſt Cauſe, and all ringing Bells (ſave one) utterly forborn.

23. THAT the Holy-Days, at the firſt Beginning godly inſtituted and ordain'd, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and publick Prayers, in acknowledging their Offences to God and Amendment, in reconciling themſelves to their Neighbours, receiving the Communion, viſiting the Sick, *&c.* only it ſhall be lawful for them in Time of Harveſt to labour upon Holy and Feſtival-Days, and ſave that Thing which God hath ſent; and ſcrupulouſly to abſtain from Working on thoſe Days, doth grievouſly offend God.

24. THAT

24. THAT no Curate admit to the Communion such who are in Rancour and Malice with their Neighbours, till each Controversies be reconciled.

25. THAT every Dean, Archdeacon, &c. being a Priest, preach by himself personally thrice a Year at least.

26. THAT they instruct their People not obstinately to violate the Ceremonies of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated: And on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great Peril of his Soul's Health.

27. THAT they take away all Shrines, Coverings of Shrines, Tables, Candlesticks, Trindils, Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monuments of feign'd Morals, so that no Memory remain of 'em in Walls or Windows; exhorting their Parishoners to do the like in their several Houses; and that a comely Pulpit be provided in a convenient Place.

28. THAT a strong Chest, with a Hole on the upper Part of it, (with three Keys thereunto belonging) be provided to receive the Charity of the People to the Poor; and the same, at convenient Times, distributed to 'em in the Presence of the Parish.

29. THAT Priests be not bound to go to visit Women lying in Childbed, except in Times of dangerous Sickness; and to fetch any Coarse, except it be brought to the Church-yard.

30. THAT to avoid the detestable Sin of *Simony*, the Seller shall lose his Right of Patronage for that Time, and the Buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive spiritual Promotion.

31. THAT becauſe of the Lack of Preachers, Curates ſhall read Homilies, which are, or ſhall be ſet forth by the King's Authority.

32. WHEREAS many indiſcreet Perſons do uncharitably abuſe and contemn Prieſts, (having ſmall Learning;) his Majeſty chargeth his Subjects, that henceforth they be reverently uſed, for their Office and Miniſtration's Sake.

33. THAT all Perſons not underſtanding *Latin*, ſhall pray on no other Primer, but what lately was ſet forth in *Engliſh* by King *Henry* the VIIIth, and that ſuch who have Knowledge in *Latin* uſe none other alſo; and all Graces before and after Meat be ſaid in *Engliſh*; and no Grammar taught in Schools, but what is ſet forth by Authority.

34. THAT Chantry Prieſts teach Youth to read and write.

35. THAT when any Sermon or Homily ſhall be had, the Prime and Hours ſhall be omitted.

AT the ſame Time there was a Form of bidding Prayer, or of Bidding the Beads (as it was more generally called) preſcribed by the Viſitors. Something of this Kind had been uſed in the Times of Popery. Biſhop *Burnet* gives us the * Form in King *Henry* the VIIth's Reign.

* An Abſtract of this may not be unacceptable to ſome; we have it inſerted at large in Dr. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of the Reformation.

* Part II.

† Col. of Records, Numb. 8.

"Ye ſhall kneel "down † on your "Knees, and lift "up your Hearts, "making your Prayers to "Almighty God for the good "State and Peace of all holy "Church, for our holy Father "the Pope, with all his true "College of Cardinals that "God for his Mercy them "maintain, and keep in the "right Belief, and all Miſ-"belief and Hereſy be leſs "and deſtroyed alſo. Ye "ſhall pray for the holy Land, "and for the holy Croſs, that "it may come into the Power "of Chriſtian Men. Alſo ye "ſhall pray for all Archbiſh-

"ops,

Reign. The Way, says he, was for the Preacher first to name and open his Text, and then to call on the People to go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for, after which all the People said their Beads in a general Silence, and the Minister kneeling down likewise said his; All the Change (says he) that *Henry* the VIIIth made, was, that the Pope and Cardinals Names being left out, he himself was ordered to be mentioned, with the Addition of his Title of Supreme Head of the Church; that the People hearing this often repeated by

" ops and Bishops, for Ab-
" bots, Priors, Monks, Can-
" ons, Friers, and for all Men
" and Women of Religion,
" in what Order or Degree
" soever they stand. And af-
" ter mentioning the King,
" Nobility and Gentry, the
" Parish and all the good Men
" of it, their Wives, Children,
" &c. all true Tithers, Til-
" lers, that labour for our
" Sustenance, Ship-Men, Mer-
" chants, &c. 'tis added, Ye
" shall pray for them that
" find any Light in this Church
" or give any Behests, Bell,
" Book, Chalice or Vestment,
" Surplice, Water-Cloth or
" Towels, Land, Rents, &c.
" or any other Adornments,
" whereby God's Service is
" the better served, that God
" reward and yield them at
" their most need. Also ye
" shall pray for all true Pil-
" grims and Palmers that
" have taken their Way to
" *Rome*, to *Jerusalem*, to St.
" *Catherine*'s, or St *Jame*'s, or
" any other Place, that God
" of his Grace give them
" Time and Space well for
" to go, and to come, for the
" Profit of their Lives and
" Souls, for all these, and for
" all Christian Men and Wo-
" men, ye shall say a *Pater*
" *Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Deus mise-*
" *reatur nostri*, *Gloria Patri*, *Ky-*
" *rie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, *Ky-*
" *rie Eleison*, *Pater Noster*, & *Ne-*
" *nos*, &c. Furthermore ye
" shall pray for all Christian
" Souls, for Archbishops,
" and Bishops Souls, for all
" that have been Bishops of
" this Diocess, and for all Cu-
" rats, Parsons, and Vicars
" Souls, especially for them
" that have been Curats in this
" Church, and for the Souls
" that have served in this
" Church. Also ye shall pray
" for all Christian Kings and
" Queens, and in especial for
" those that have been Kings
" and Queens of this Realm,
" and for all those Souls that
" to this Church have given
" Book, Bell, Chalice, &c.
" Ye shall also pray for your
" Father's Souls, Mother's,
" Godfather's, Godmother's
" Souls, and for all the Souls
" that be in the Pains of Pur-
" gatory, there abiding the
" Pains of Almighty God.
" And also for the Soul of
" N. or of them that up-
" on such a Day this Week,
" we shall have the Anniver-
" sary, &c.

their Prieſts, might be better perſuaded about it. The Form now * appointed was this.

1. "YOU ſhall pray for the whole Congre-
" gation of Chriſt's Church, and ſpecially for
" this Church of England and Ireland; where-
" in firſt I commend to your devout Prayers,
" the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, Supream
" Head immediately under God, of the Tem-
" porality and Spirituality of the ſame Church,
" and for Queen *Katherine Dowager*, and alſo
" for my Lady *Mary*, and my Lady *Elizabeth*,
" the King's Siſters.

2. "YOU ſhall pray for my Lord *Protector*'s
" Grace, and all the reſt of the King's Majeſty
" his Council, for all the Lords of his Realm,
" and for the Clergy and Commons of the
" ſame; beſeeching Almighty God to give e-
" very of them in his Decree, Grace to uſe
" themſelves in ſuch wiſe, as may be for God's
" Glory, the King's Honour, and the Weal of
" this Realm.

3. "YOU ſhall † pray for all them that be
" departed out of this World in the Faith of
" Chriſt, that they with us, and we with them,
" at the Day of Judgment may reſt both Body
" and Soul with *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*,
" in the Kingdom of Heaven.

* Dr. *Sparrow*'s Collections.

† Dr. *Burnet* takes Notice that the praying for the Dead according to the old Form, which implied their being in a State, in which they did not enjoy the Preſence of God, was avoided by the more general Words now preſcribed, but whether they were come to ſuch a Clearneſs generally in that Matter, as to diſallow praying for the preſent Benefit of the Dead, may be queſtioned, nor is it improbable that theſe general Expreſſions might be deſigned to leave Room for ſome Latitude of Opinion, and compound the Matter between different Opinioniſts; ſome intending no more by the Words, than praying for the full Conſummation of their Bliſs that were departed; others underſtanding them in a groſſer Senſe, that they might do ſo, may be eaſily admitted, ſince we find this ſame Year, a Dirige, and Maſs of Requiem ſung at St. *Paul's* for the French King, that died ſome Months before.

THIS

THIS Year alſo there was a Book of Homilies compiled, and ſet forth for the Inſtruction of the People. It was drawn up under Twelve Heads; "The chief Deſign of which (ſays "Dr. *Burnet* *) was to acquaint the People with "the Method of Salvation, according to the "Goſpel, in which there were two dangerous "Extreams at that Time that had divided the "World. The greateſt Part of the Ignorant "ſeem'd to conſider their Prieſts, as a Sort of "People who had ſuch a ſecret Trick in the "Saving of Souls, as Mountebanks pretend to "in curing Diſeaſes; and that there was no-"thing to be done but leave themſelves in their "Hands, and the Buſineſs could not miſcarry. "This was the chief Baſis and Support of all "that Superſtition that was ſo prevalent over "the Nation. The other Extream was of ſome "corrupt Goſpellers, who thought, if they "magnified Chriſt much, and depended on his "Merits and Interceſſion, they could not pe-"riſh, which Way ſoever they led their Lives. "In theſe Homilies, therefore, ſpecial Care was "taken to rectify ſuch Errors."

NOR had they good *Engliſh* Sermons only, but the Bible itſelf (which had been ſo long ſtrugling for Liberty) got forth, and the People encourag'd to read it, and help'd to underſtand it; an Order being given, that the Holy Bible of the largeſt Volume, with *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, ſhould be ſet up in every Pariſh-Church through *England*. Dr. *Heylin* † ſpeaking of this, and of the Repeal of a former Act for inhibiting the Reading of the Old and New Teſtament in the *Engliſh* Tongue, *&c.* ſays, "By which Repeal all Men

* Hiſt. Reform. *Part* 2. *p.* 27. † Hiſt. Reform. *p.* 48.

"may

" may ſeem to have been put into a Liberty of " reading Scripture, being in a Manner their " own Expoſitors, and of entertaining what " Opinions in Religion beſt pleas'd their Fan- " cies, and promulging thoſe Opinions which " they then entertain'd." Which he inſinuates was no great Felicity: But wiſer Men have, and will have other Apprehenſions of the Matter; and look upon this as the chief Stroak in the Reformation, and the Stability of all the reſt.

WE find about this Time alſo an Order for the diſſolving of Chantries. (Houſes where a Company of Slow-Bellies were maintain'd on purpoſe to pray Souls out of Purgatory.) The Six Articles were alſo repeal'd by Act of Parliament; Communion in both Kinds reſtor'd; Proceſſions forbid: " Wherein the People car- " ried Candles on *Candlemas-Day*, Aſhes on " *Aſh-Wedneſday*, Palms on *Palm-Sunday*."

" THIS was done, ſays *Strype* *, by the Means " of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, becauſe he ſaw they " were us'd ſo much to Superſtition, and look'd " like Feſtivals to the *Heathen Gods*: So that " this Year, adds my Author, on *Candlemas-* " *Day* the old Cuſtom of bearing Candles in " the Church; and on *Aſh-Wedneſday* following, " of giving Aſhes in the Church, was left off " throughout the whole City of *London*."

THE next Year ſeveral Advances were made, and ſeveral good Acts paſs'd, towards a fuller Reformation; particularly an Act for the Marriage of the Clergy, an Order for taking down of Images in Churches. This was ſent to *Cranmer* (on the 11th of *Feb.* 1548.) from the *Protector* and the reſt of the Council; in which

* Memorial, *p.* 159.

are

are these Words: "That for putting an End "to all Contests, (about Images) and that the "living Images of Christ should not Quarrel "about the dead Ones, it was concluded that "they should be all taken down *." And he was to give Order to see this executed in his own Diocess, and to transmit the like Order to other Bishops.

ONE very material thing I must not omit, which fell under Consideration this Year, and that was revising the *Common-Prayer-Book*: To which purpose a Committee of Select Bishops and other Divines were chosen. The first thing they examin'd was the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; which, after a great many Questions and Debates, was changed from the idolatrous Sacrifice of the Mass, into a Commemoration of Christ, and Communion of his Body and Blood. In all the rest of the Offices they made such Alterations as they apprehended the State of Things *at that Time* would bear, retaining still as much of the old Service as appear'd to them tolerable, and rejecting only the more palpable Errors and Superstitions of Popery. Dr. *Heylin* says, "The Learned amongst the Papists "conform'd to it (the new Service) and that it "differ'd little from what it was before." This Book, purged and changed as it was, and translated into *English*, was confirm'd by Act of Parliament in the Year 1548. In the Preamble of the Act they take Notice, that there had been † *several* Forms of Service; and that now, that

* *Burnet's* Hist. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 60.

† As those *Secundum usum Sarum*, suppos'd to have been compiled by *Osmund* Bishop of *Sarum*, which were received in the Southern Parts. In the North of *England* they had other Offices after the Use of *York*, in *South-Wales* they had 'em after the Use of *Hereford*, in *North-Wales* after the Use of *Bangor*, and

Ibid. *Part* 2. *p.* 71.

that there might be an *uniform* Way all over the Kingdom, the King had appointed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, &c. to draw an Order of divine Worſhip, having reſpect to the pure Worſhip of Chriſt taught in the Scripture, and to the Practice of the primitive Church; which they, *by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt*, had with one uniform Agreement concluded on: Wherefore the Parliament having conſider'd the Book, and the Things that were alter'd and retain'd in it, they gave their moſt humble Thanks to the King for his Care about it; and did enact, that from the Feaſt of *Whitſunday* next all divine Offices ſhould be perform'd according to it, *&c.*

THIS was the firſt Book of *Edward* the VIth. It was afterwards reviewed, upon ſome Exce-

and in *Lincoln* another Sort of an Office proper to that See. Great was the Variety of theſe Offices, and intolerable the Superſtition of 'em, as every one knows that has look'd in to 'em. Dr. *Burnet* gives a ſhort Taſte of this Stuff in his Hiſtory, *p.* 74. In the Abſolution the Form was, *I abſolve* thee in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt; and *I grant* to thee all Indulgences given, or to be given to thee by any Prelate, with the Bleſſings of him; all the Sprinklings of Holy Water, all the devout Beatings of thy Breaſt, this Confeſſion, and all thy other devout Confeſſions, all thy Faſtings, Almſgivings, Watchings, Pilgrimages, *&c.* the Paſſions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Merits of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of all other Saints, and the Suffrages of the Holy Catholick Church, turn to thee, for the Remiſſion of theſe and all other thy Sins, the Increaſe of thy Merits, and the Attainment of everlaſting Reward. And when the dead Body was laid in the Grave this Abſolution was ſaid over it: The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave to St. *Peter*, and his other Diſciples, Power to Bind and Looſe, abſolve thee from all the Guilt of thy Sins; and in ſo far as is committed to my Weakneſs, be thou abſolved before the Tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have eternal Life, and live for evermore. Now in the Reformation of the Liturgy, they caſt out a great deal of this, but yet retain'd ſomething that look'd like the old Forms, that the ignorant People might not think they had wholly loſt their Religion; and therefore they ſtill have an Abſolution, and an Office for the Burial of the Dead, tho' purged from ſuch things as were moſt offenſive and inconſiſtent with their Doctrine.

ptions

ptions made againſt it by foreign Divines of the reformed Religion, and had a ſecond Edition, in which it came forth ſomewhat more refined. This was in the 5th Year of that King, and called *the ſecond Book of King* Edward, the Corrections that were made in it, being moſtly according to *Bucer*'s Cenſure, as is agreed, I ſhall from Dr. * *Burnet* tranſcribe the Subſtance of the Cenſure, which was thus. "That he found all Things in the common "Service, and daily Prayers, were clearly ac- "cording to the Scriptures. He adviſed, that "in Cathedrals the Quire might not be too "far ſeparated from the Congregation, ſince "in ſome Places the People could not hear them "read Prayers. He wiſh'd there was a ſtrict "Diſcipline to exclude ſcandalous Livers from "the Sacrament. He wiſh'd the old Habits "might be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them "ſuperſtitiouſly, others contended much about "them. He did not like the half Office of "Communion, or ſecond Service to be ſaid at "the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. "He was offended with the requiring the Peo- "ple to receive at leaſt *once a Year*, and would have "them preſſed to it much more frequently. "He diſliked that the Prieſts generally read "Prayers with no Devotion, and in ſuch a "Voice, that the People underſtood not what "they ſaid. He would have the Sacrament "delivered into the Hands, and not put into "the Mouths of the People. He cenſured "praying for the dead, of which no Mention "is made in the Scripture, nor by *Juſtin Mar-* "*tyr* an Age after. He thought that the Pray- "er, *that the Elements might be to us the Body and* "*Blood of Chriſt*, favoured Tranſubſtantiation

* Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 155.

too

" too much; a ſmall Variation might bring
" it nearer the Scripture Form. He complain-
" ed that Baptiſm was generally in Houſes,
" which being the receiving Infants into the
" Church, ought to be done more publickly.
" The hallowing the Water, the Chriſm, and
" the white Garments, he cenſured as being
" too ſcenical. He excepted againſt exorciſing
" the Devil, and would have it turned into a
" Prayer to God, the *Authoritative* Way of
" ſaying, *I adjure thee*, not being ſo decent.
" He thought the Godfathers anſwering in
" the Child's Name, not ſo well as anſwering
" in their own, that they ſhould take Care in
" theſe Things all they could. He would not
" haveConfirmation given upon a bare Reci-
" tal of the Catechiſm; but would have it de-
" layed till the Perſons did really deſire to re-
" new their baptiſmal Vow. He would have
" catechiſing every holy Day, and not every
" 6th Sunday, *i. e.* that People ſhould be ſtill
" catechiſed after they were confirmed, to pre-
" ſerve them from Ignorance. He would have
" all Marriages made in the full Congregation.
" He would have giving Unction to the Sick,
" and praying for the Dead, quite laid aſide,
" as alſo the offering the Criſomes at the church-
" ing of Women. He adviſed that the Com-
" munion ſhould be celebrated 4 Times a Year.
" He ſadly lamented the Want of faithful Tea-
" chers, and intreated the Arch-Biſhop to ſee
" to the mending of this, and to think on ſome
" ſtricter Ways of examining thoſe that were
" to be ordained, than barely the putting ſome
" Queſtions to them." Theſe were the Faults *Bucer* found in the 1ſt Book; " The moſt ma-
" terial of which (ſays Dr. *Burnet*) were cor-
" rected afterwards, (*viz.*) in the 2d Book.

ABOUT

ABOUT this Time the Pſalms of *David* were tranſlated into Metre by *Hopkins*, *Sternhold*, *Wiſedom*, &c. and were allowed to be ſung in Churches. The Friends of the Reformation received them with great Affection, were much delighted with the Work of Pſalmody, and indeed were * diſtinguiſhed and known by their Zeal that Way. Several of latter Times (ſince Poetry has been brought to greater Perfection) have complained of the Meanneſs of this Verſe, (tho' extraordinary for the Time when it was done.) Dr. *Fuller* paſſes this Cenſure upon it, That in many Places the Rhyme is ſo poor, that two Hammers on a Smith's Anvil would make better Muſick. But be it as it will, it has hitherto in moſt Places kept its Place in the Church, and 'tis like, any Attempts to remove or reform it, would be look'd upon by ſome, as a dangerous Innovation.

AFTER this we find ſeveral other Acts of Parliament, or Orders of Council for rectifying Abuſes, and the more perfect Settlement of the Reformation.

* *Heylin* ſays (*p.* 127.) this Device (of ſinging Pſalms) was firſt taken up in France by *Clement Marot*, who being much addicted to Poetry, and having Acquaintance with thoſe who were thought to incline to the Reformation, was perſuaded by *Vatablus*, Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue, in the Univerſity of *Paris*, to exerciſe his poetical Fancies, in tranſlating ſome of *David*'s Pſalms. He tranſlated 50 of them, and afterwards flying to *Geneva*, grew acquainted with *Beza*, who tranſlated the reſt, and cauſed them to be fitted to ſeveral Times, (or Tunes,) which began to be ſung in private Houſes, and by Degrees to be taken up in all the Churches of the French, and other Nations, that followed the *Genevian* Platform. *Marot*'s Tranſlation, ſaid by *Strada* to be ignorantly done, is not however to be compared with the Barbarity and Botching which every where occurreth in *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*. He takes Notice that at laſt they were permitted (rather than allow'd) to be ſung in Churches: But, adds he, as the puritan Faction grew in Strength and Confidence, they prevailed ſo far in moſt Places, as to thruſt the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, quite out of the Church.

AS

As an Act about Fasting, and particularly about keeping *Lent*, which many excepted against as superstitious, and Rhymes were made and published to expose it; however, it was injoin'd by Authority chiefly on a civil Account &c.

PREACHERS imploy'd to defend it, *Latimer* was one of them, whom we find urging the Observation of it in this Manner.* "This "Law (says he) is made in Policy, (as I sup-"pose,) that Fish might be utter'd as well as "other Meat, now as long as it goes so poli-"tickly, we ought to keep it.

THE next Year an Order was given, for Altars to be turned into Communion-Tables. This was first done by *Ridly* in the Visitation of his Dioceſs, but being cry'd out of by many of the Clergy, Orders were sent from the Council for the doing of it, which occasion'd no small Murmure.† Bishop *Day* particularly opposes it with great Zeal, and when called before the Council for not obeying the King's Letter, he said he could not conform his Conscience to take down the || Altars in the Churches, and

* *Strypes's* Memor. *p.* 207.

† Bishop of Sarum's Hist. *Part* II. *p.* 159.

|| Hist. of Reformat. *p.* 95. Dr. *Heylin* after his Manner touches this Business a little roughly. The principal Motive, says he, whereunto (the taking away Altars) was the Opinion of some Dislikes *Calvin* had taken against the Liturgy, and the Desires of those of the *Zuinglian* Faction, to reduce this Church to the Nakedness and Simplicity of the *Transmarine* Churches, which followed the *Helvetian* or *Calvinian* Forms; for the Advancement of which Work, it had been preached by *Hooper* before the King, "That it might be very well, "might it please the Magi-"strate to turn the Altars into "Tables according to the first "Institution of Christ, and "thereby to take away the "false Persuasion of the Peo-"ple, that they have Sacrifi-"ces to be done upon the Al-"tars. Because says he, as "long as the Altars remain, "both the ignorant People "and Priests will dream alway "of Sacrifices." This, adds *Heylin*, was enough to put Thoughts

it

in lieu of them ſet up Tables, as the Letter appointed. For that he ſeemed for his Opinion to have both Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. The Scriptures he * alledged were *Iſa.* xix. 19. and *Heb.* xiii. 10. which were anſwered by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *Ely*, who ſhew'd that the Altar meant Chriſt himſelf.

LITTLE now remained to be done according to the Plan they had laid for Reformation at that Time, but the declaring their Faith in certain Articles, which was undertaken and accompliſhed in the Year 1552. under this Title, *Articles agreed upon by the Biſhops and other godly and learned Men in the laſt Convocation at* London, *Anno* 1552. *to root out the Diſcord of Opinions, and eſtabliſh the Agreement of true Religion, publiſh'd by the Kings Majeſty's Authority* 1553. which are the ſame in Subſtance with the 39 Articles now own'd in the Church of *England*.

DR. *Burnet* ſhews that theſe Articles were not drawn up in Convocation, but were probably compiled by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, *Cranmer* not daring to truſt the Convocation, it ſeems with this Matter, where he expected great Diverſity of Opinions, which was one Reaſon why the Work was not ſet about ſooner, he fear'd † the Oppoſition of the Biſhops and Clergy, and therefore began with the groſſer Corruptions of Worſhip, waiting a more favourable Opportunity for the reſt. Another Reaſon the ſame Author gives in his 3d Part of the || Hiſtory of Reformation, (*viz.*) *the Minority of the*

Thoughts into the Heads of ſome great Men about Court, who thereby promiſed themſelves no ſmall Hopes of Profit, by diſfurniſhing the Altars of the Hangings, Pales, Plate and other rich Utenſils.

* *Strype* p. 228.

† Dr. *Burnet*, Part II. p. 166.

|| p. 210.

King; it was thought the Articles would have greater Weight, if ſet forth when the King was a little more matur'd in Judgment, and advanced in Age; being publiſh'd by the King's Authority alone, tho' afterwards agreed to by the Convocation.

ONE Thing further was attempted with Reference to Diſcipline (for what had been done hitherto chiefly concerned Worſhip and Doctrine) and that was the reforming Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Laws. This was begun before, as was ſaid, and now reſum'd and brought to the Degree of Perfection they deſigned; but the King dying, it never had the Royal Sanction, the Work itſelf is publiſhed in * *Sparrow*, whither I refer the Reader. And thus far Things were brought, and much more deſigned by King *Edward*, a Prince of extraordinary Accompliſhments, for his Age, and of the greateſt Hopes. *Cardan* an Italian Papiſt, doth him the Juſtice, as to ſay that he was apt " to all hu-
" man Literature; that being yet a Child, he
" had the Knowledge of diverſe Tongues, *En-*
" *gliſh*, *Latin*, *Greek*, *French* and *Spaniſh*; that
" he was not ignorant of *Logick*, natural Phi-
" loſophy, or Muſick: and in ſhort, that he
" was wanting in nothing that became ſo great
" a Prince. He adds, It might ſeem a Mira-
" cle in Nature, to behold the Forwardneſs,
" Wit and Knowledge, that appeared in him,
" being yet a Child: And this (ſays he) I ſpeak
" not rhetorically, to amplify Things, or to

* The Title is, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum, ex Auctoritate primum Regis* Henrici, *&c. Inchoata; deinde p. Regem* Edwardum *provecta adauctaq; in hunc Modum, atq; nunc ad pleniorem ipſarum Reformationem in Lucem editæ.* Dr. *Fuller* * takes Notice that in *cap. de Divinis Officiis*, They call the Common-Prayer-Book then uſed in England, *Proprium & perfectum omnis Divini Cultus Judicem & Magiſtrum.*

* Hiſt. *Lib.* 7. *p.* 420.

" make

" make them more than Truth, nay, Truth " exceeds my Repreſentation.

But that which makes the brighteſt Part of his Character, is his Piety and Religion. He was generally called by the good Men of thoſe Times, a ſecond *Joſias*, for the Tenderneſs of his Spirit, and Zeal for Religion. Even when a Child, he gave early Intimations of what might be expected from him: One Inſtance taken Notice of to this Purpoſe is, that being in his Play, about to reach ſomething above him, one of his Play-Fellows very officiouſly plac'd a large boſſed Bible on the Floor, for him to ſtand on, which he refuſed with ſome Indignation, and haſtily takes up the Bible, chiding the Boy for ſhewing no more Reverence to the Word of God. He heard Sermons with a particular Application to himſelf, and was moſt pleaſed with ſuch as came moſt home and cloſe to him. He took Notes, ſays Dr. *Burnet*, of ſuch Things in Sermons, as eſpecially concerned himſelf. One Paſſage of him I ſhall relate from *Hayward* *, that Biſhop *Ridley* preaching before him upon Works of Charity, ſuggeſted, " That as they were a Duty for all Men, ſo eſpe- " cially for Men in moſt eſpecial Dignity and " Place." After Sermon the King ſent for him, and giving him Thanks for his Diſcourſe, and repeating the chief Points of it, he added, " I took myſelf to be eſpecially touched by " your Speech, as well in Regard of the Abi- " lities God has given me, as in Regard of the " Example which from me he will require; " for as in the Kingdom I am next under God, " ſo muſt I approach moſt nearly to him in " Goodneſs and Mercy; for as we are the

* Comp. Hiſt. of Engl. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 323.

"greateſt Debtors, we ſhall be the greateſt "Accomptants: And therefore, *my Lord*, as you "have given me (I thank you) this general "Exhortation; ſo direct me, I intreat you, by "what particular Actions I may this Way diſ-"charge my Duty."

HE was exceeding tender in Matters of Blood; witneſs his Backwardneſs to ſign the Warrant for burning *Joan Butcher* for Hereſy: 'Tis ſaid * the Council could not prevail with him to do it, and therefore engaged *Cranmer* to make uſe of his Importunity; the King alledging he would not drive her headlong to the Devil. And when the Archbiſhop had prevail'd with him, it was with Reluctancy, and a Sort of a Proteſtation againſt it, even when he did it; declaring he would lay all the Charge thereof upon him (the Archbiſhop) before God. Nor did this proceed from any Coldneſs and Indifferency in Religion; for which he had a warm Zeal, as appears from the reſolute Oppoſition he made to his Siſter *Mary*'s having Maſs in her Family. When he was preſs'd to give way to it, on Conſideration of the Emperor's Interceſſion, *&c.* he reply'd, He would not only hazard the Loſs of the Emperor's Friendſhip, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than to conſent to what he knew was a Sin, and he cited ſome Paſſages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry †; by which he ſaid, he was bound in Conſcience not to conſent to her having Maſs, ſince he believ'd it to be Idolatry; and upon ſaying this, he burſt forth (as ſome have related) into a Flood of Tears.

* *Hayward*'s Compl. Hiſt. of *Engl.* p. 323. † Bp. of *Sarum*, Part 2. p. 226.

Bur

BUT the Sins of the Land provok'd God to cut ſhort ſo invaluable a Life (for he died in the 16th Year of his Age) which *Ridley* expreſs'd his Senſe of in a Book publiſh'd ſoon after, call'd (it's like in Imitation of the Prophet *Jeremiah* upon the Death of *Joſias*) *The Lamentation of England*: And, indeed, the beſt Men of that Age look'd upon the Removal of this moſt excellent young Prince as a National Judgment. Tho' Dr. *Heylin* ſays *, he can't reckon it any Infelicity to the Church of *England*; adding, that he was ill-principled.

UPON the Demiſe of King *Edward*, *Anno* 1553. his Siſter *Mary* ſucceeds to the Crown; who, 'tis known, ſoon undid all her Father and Brother had done, and reſtor'd the whole Body of *Popery*.

QUEEN *Elizabeth* ſucceeds *Anno* 1558. who came to the Throne pretty much ſet againſt the groſſer Things of *Popery*, and yet with a Reſolution of ſhewing all the Favour ſhe could to *Papiſts*, and giving them as little Diſguſt as might be in the Methods of her Reformation; and therefore, as ſhe ſent Diſpatches to the ſeveral Princes of *Chriſtendom*, advertiſing them of her Siſter's Demiſe, and her Acceſſion. She did the like to the Pope; from whom ſhe received an Anſwer in his uſual Stile: "Declaring that *England* was held in Fee to the Apoſtolick See; that ſhe could not ſucceed, being Illegitimate:- Adding, it was great Boldneſs in her to aſſume the Crown without his Conſent, for which in Reaſon ſhe deſerv'd no Favour at his Hands; yet if ſhe would renounce her Pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a Fatherly

Reformation under Q. *Elizabeth*.

* Preface to the Hiſt. of Reformation.

" Affection to her, and do every thing for her " that could conſiſt with the Dignity of the " Apoſtolick See *. "

THE Queen deſpiſes this Inſolence, and goes forward with her Work (tho' with a wonderful deal of Tenderneſs towards Catholicks.) In her firſt Parliament (1559.) Acts are paſs'd in Favour of Religion; as, one for reſtoring the *Engliſh* Service, another for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again, another for confirming the Laws about Religion in King *Edward*'s Time. All the Acts paſs'd in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth for aboliſhing the Pope's Power are reviv'd, and the Acts in Queen *Mary*'s Time to the contrary repeal'd. They reviv'd the Act made in the Firſt of King *Edward* † againſt thoſe that ſpoke irreverently of the Sacrament, and againſt private Maſſes, and for Communion in both Kinds, *&c.* And in ſhort, Religion is brought back again in a good Meaſure to its former State under King *Edward*, excepting ſome Alterations that were made purely in Compliance with the Papiſts, and upon Deſign of drawing 'em into the Church, or keeping 'em eaſy there.

THUS in the Service-Book, Dr. *Heylin* tells us ‡, that there was great Care taken for expunging all ſuch Paſſages in it (*viz.* in King *Edward*'s Book) as might give any Offence to the popiſh Party, or be urg'd by 'em in Excuſe for their not coming to Church. For Inſtance: Whereas in the *Litany* there was a Prayer to be deliver'd from the Tyranny and all the *deteſtable Enormities of the Biſhop of* Rome; this was thought fit to be expung'd. The Form us'd in giving the *Bread* and *Wine* was alter'd.

* Dr. *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, *Part* 2. *p.* 374. † Ibid. *p.* 386.
‡ Hiſt. of Reform. *p.* 283.

A whole Rubrick at the End of the *Communion-Service* was expung'd; by which it was declar'd, that Kneeling at the Sacrament was requir'd for no other Reaſon than for a Signification of the humble and grateful Acknowledging of the Benefits of Chriſt, given therein to the worthy Receiver; and not for any Adoration to the *Sacramental Bread* and *Wine* there Bodily receiv'd, or in regard of any real and eſſential Preſence of Chriſt's *Body* and *Blood*. This was left out, as being too expreſs a Renouncing of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and like to prove offenſive to thoſe they were ſo concern'd to oblige: And to come cloſer to the Church of *Rome*, adds *Heylin*, it was order'd by the Queen's Injunctions, that the *Bread* ſhould be made round, like the *Wafers* in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and that the *Lord's-Table* ſhould be plac'd where the *Altar* ſtood; that the accuſtom'd Reverence ſhould be made at the Name of *Jeſus*, Muſick retain'd in the Church, *&c.* By which Compliances, ſays he *, the Book was made ſo paſſable, that for Ten Years they generally repair'd to the Pariſh-Churches without Doubt or Scruple: Nay, it ſeems the Queen was inclin'd to have Images in Churches; the Uſe of which ſhe thought might be a Means to ſtir up Devotion, or at leaſt it would draw People to frequent them the more: And it was with ſome Difficulty, ſaith Dr. *Burnet* †, that the Biſhops and Divines of the Reform'd Religion reaſon'd her out of it.

AND even in the Articles of Faith ſhe thought fit to ſtep a little out of the Way to oblige theſe Gentlemen: As in the Twenty firſt Article, in King *Edward*'s Time, it runs thus: "'Tis not "lawful for the Church to ordain any thing

* *Heylin*, p. 283. † Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 397.

" that's contrary to God's Word written, nei-
" ther may it ſo expound one Place of Scripture
" that it be repugnant to another: Wherefore,
" altho' the Church be a Witneſs, and a Keeper
" of Holy Writ; yet, as it ought not to de-
" cree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſide the
" ſame, ought it not to enforce any thing to
" be believed for Neceſſity of Salvation." In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Articles Ten Years after (1562.) this Clauſe is added, " The Church
" hath Power to decree Rites or Ceremonies,
" and Authority in Controverſies of Faith." In the Article about the Lord's-Supper there is a great deal left out, as Dr. *Burnet* informs us; for in the original Copy of theſe Articles, ſubſcrib'd by the Hands of the Convocation, there is added, as a Refutation of the Corporal Preſence, theſe Words: " Chriſt, when he aſcended
" into Heaven, made his Body immortal, but
" took not from it the Nature of a Body; for
" ſtill it retains, according to the Scripture, the
" Verity of a humane Body, which muſt be
" always in one definite Place, and cannot be
" ſpread into many or all Places at once. Since
" then Chriſt, being carried up into Heaven, is
" to remain there to the End of the World, and
" is to come from thence, and from no Place
" elſe, (as ſays St. *Auſtin*) to judge the Quick
" and the Dead; none of the Faithful ought to
" profeſs or believe the real or (as they call it)
" corporal Preſence of his Fleſh and Blood in
" the *Euchariſt*." But this in the Original is daſh'd over (ſays my Author *) with *Minium*, yet ſo as 'tis ſtill legible. The † Secret of it

* Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 405.

† In the 3d Part of the Hiſt. of the Refor. *p.* 301. he adds, that he thought this was done in Compliance with the Papiſts; but that he was now convinc'd by the Letters ſent him from *Zurick*, that in this great Regard was alſo had to the *Lutheran* Churches.

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was this, (adds he) the Queen and her Council ſtudied to unite all into the Communion of the Church; and it was alledg'd, that ſuch an expreſs Definition againſt a real Preſence might drive from the Church many who were ſtill of that Perſuaſion, and therefore it was left out.

IN ſhort; the Queen, partly from that Maxim, by which ſhe govern'd herſelf all along, *viz.* the Accommodating of Matters as far as ſhe could to gain the *Papiſts*, and partly from her own Inclination, carried the Reformation ſeveral Steps back, as has been hinted; for tho' ſhe had been bred up from her Infancy with a Hatred of the *Papacy*, yet (ſays Dr. *Burnet* *) as her firſt Impreſſions in her Father's Reign were in Favour of ſuch old † Rites, as he had ſtill retain'd; ſo in her own Nature ſhe loved State and ſome Magnificence in Religion, as well as in every thing elſe. She thought in her Brother's Reign they had ſtripp'd it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in ſome Points, therefore ſhe intended to have ſome Things explain'd in more general Terms, that ſo all Parties might be comprehended by them: And it ſeems by this Conduct ſhe ſo far pleas'd thoſe ſhe ſought moſt to pleaſe, that they not only attended upon publick Worſhip, but the Pope himſelf appear'd willing to confirm the Liturgy by his papal Power; (as *Heylin* ‡, *Camden*, and others, tell

* Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 376.

† 'Tis ſaid, that to her Dying-day ſhe would not eat Fleſh in *Lent* (being forbidden by the Canons of the Church) until ſhe had firſt obtain'd a ſolemn Licenſe from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhe renew'd every Year of her Life, (*Fuller*, Lib. 9. p. 182.) Nay, ſuch was her Zeal for *Lent*, that *Strype* (Life of *Parker*, p. 202, 511.) intimates ſhe ſeldom us'd to hear Sermons any time elſe. The ſame Author tells us from *Parker*, (p. 30.) that ſhe expreſs'd her Repentance that ſhe had proceeded ſo far in the Reformation.

‡ Hiſtory, *p.* 303,

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us) *Parpalio* being inſtructed to offer it in the Name of his Holineſs, provided her Majeſty would acknowledge the *Primacy* of that See.

AND this was the Length our Reformers came, the State Queen *Elizabeth* left the Reformation in. Dr. *Heylin* is wonderfully tranſported with the Beauty of the Church of *England*, as then eſtabliſh'd; and invites his Readers to behold it in the Glaſs he has prepar'd. "Behold (ſays he) the Government of the Church "by Archbiſhops and Biſhops: Theſe Biſhops, "nominated and elected according to the Sta"tute of the 26th of *Henry* the VIIIth, and "conſecrated by the Ordinal, and confirm'd by "Parliament, never appearing publickly but in "their Rochets; nor officiating otherwiſe than "in Copes at the Holy Altar: The Prieſts ne"ver ſtirring out of Doors but in their Square"Caps, Gowns and Canonical Coats, nor exe"cuting any divine Office but in their Sur"plice; a Veſtment ſet apart for Religious "Services in the primitive Times, as may be "gather'd from St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Hierom*: "The Doctrine of the Church reduced to its "antient Purity: The Liturgy conform'd to "the primitive Patterns, and all the Rites and "Ceremonies therein accommodated to the "Honour of God, and the Increaſe of Piety: "Their Feſtivals preſerv'd in their former Dig"nity, obſerv'd with their diſtinct Offices, and "celebrated with a religious Concourſe of all "Sorts of People: The Weekly Faſts, the holy "Time of *Lent*, the Embering Weeks, together "with the Faſt of the *Rogation*, ſeverely kept by a "Forbearance from all Kind of Fleſh; not now "by Virtue of the Statute in the Time of King "*Edward*, but as appointed by the Church in "her publick Kalendar, before the Book of

"Common-

"Common-Prayer: The Sacrament of the "Lord's-Supper celebrated in the moſt reverent "Manner: The Holy Table ſeated in the Place "of the Altar: The People making their due "Reverence at their Entrance into the Church: "Kneeling at the Communion: The Confeſ- "ſion, and the publick Prayers: Standing up "at the Creed: The Goſpels, and the *Gloria* "*Patri*, and uſing the accuſtom'd Reverence "at the Name of *Jeſus*: Muſick retain'd in "Churches, *&c.* To all this the Court was a "good Preſident, where the Liturgy was offi- "ciated every Day; not only in the publick "Chappel, but in the private Cloſet; celebra- "ted in the Chappel with Organs and other "muſical Inſtruments, and the moſt excellent "Voices that could be got in all the Kingdom: "The Gentlemen and Children in their Sur- "plices, and the Prieſts in Copes, as oft as they "attended the Divine Service at the Holy Al- "tar: The Altars furniſh'd with rich Plate, "two fair gilt Candleſticks, and a maſſy Cru- "cifix of Silver in the midſt thereof; which laſt "remain'd there for ſome Years till it was broke "in Pieces by *Pach the Fool* (no wiſer Man da- "ring to undertake ſuch a deſperate Service.") And this was that Glory of the Church that he ſo much admir'd.

SOME Review has been made of the Work at ſeveral Times, particularly of the Service-Book, as in King *James* the Iſt's Time, after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the IId; but little Alteration has been made. Upon the latter Occaſion, great Expectations were rais'd of ſome farther Reformation, in order to the uniting Proteſtants; to which Purpoſe, the King gave a Commiſſion to ſeveral Divines, both Epiſcopal and

and Presbyterian, to meet at the *Savoy*, but all in vain. Dr. *Nichols** owns, "That the Bishops "being provok'd by their long Suffering, were "not very forward to make *any* Alterations pro- "posed by the Presbyterians, even in such things "as *might have deserv'd Consideration*, refusing "them so much as the Change of *deadly Sin* in "the Litany for *heinous Sin*."

AND having thus given the Reader a general Idea of the Reformation in its Rise and Progress, 'till it came to its present Settlement, I shall before I dismiss the Subject, subjoin a few Remarks upon it.

* Preface to Comment. on Common-Prayer.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Remarks upon the Reformation, that it was a good Work, but not thought perfect by the Reformers, who accommodated themſelves in what they did, to the Prejudices of the People. The Riſe of Non-Conformity. The Diſputes at Francfort. *The different State and Treatment of the Non-Conformiſts at ſeveral times. The Letters of ſome of our Reformers to Foreign Divines, intimating their Diſlike of the Terms of Conformity. Preſs'd more rigorouſly.* Hampton-Court *Conference. Book of Canons formed. Book of Sports brought in by* Laud. *Some Reflections about the Riſe and different State of Non-Conformity. The Defects of the Reformation.*

1. IT muſt be own'd, that the *Reformation was a great and a good Work.* The Inſtruments employ'd in it deſerve an *honourable Name and Memorial* in the Church of Chriſt: Generations to come ſhall call them Bleſſed. The pure Doctrine of the Goſpel is reviv'd and reſtor'd; publick Prayers are purg'd from Idolatry, and celebrated in a Language the People underſtand. The five Sacraments of the Church are caſt off; and only the two of Chriſt's Appointment

Reformation a good Work.

pointment retain'd, and theſe *in a good Meaſure* brought back to their primitive Simplicity. Inſtead of ridiculous Harangues in Commendation of the Saints, of Relicks, Images, *&c.* Inſtead of endleſs Tales of feign'd Miracles, which were generally the Matter of their Sermons heretofore, when they had any; the Doctrine of Salvation is communicated to the People in well compos'd Homilies, (ſeveral of 'em at leaſt) which were appointed to be publickly read, till the Church could be furniſh'd with Miniſters capable of Preaching, and fit to be entruſted with that Service. But,

Reformation not perfect.

2. THO' it was *a good Work, it was far from perfect*; nor did thoſe that had the Management of it, pretend it ſo to be; they laid the Foundation, and expected thoſe that came after would build upon it. This they ſignified in the Preface to one of the Common-Prayer-Books of *Edward* the VIth, and 'tis ſufficiently imply'd in the Injunctions ſet forth by that King; in one * of which the Clergy were commanded to teach the People not to violate the Ceremonies not as *yet taken away*. And with reſpect to Government, all Sorts acknowledg'd great Deficiency. The Eccleſiaſtical Canons drawn up in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, and revis'd in *Edward* the VIth's Time, never had any Sanction to make 'em authentick: Afterwards indeed ſome were brought in; the firſt in the Year 1571. and more in the Year 1597. In the Year 1603. the whole Body of the † Canons and

* Article 27.

† Theſe Canons were never eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, but by the Prerogative Royal, and Supreme Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, as the King himſelf (*James* I.) expreſſes it in his Declaration that accompanied them *Anno* 1603. and in the Title Page of the Book of Canons they are ſaid to be publiſh'd *by his Authority under the Great Seal of* England. So that all their Force, one would think,

and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions came forth, as we now have them: But can't be thought, ſurely, by impartial Judges, any very ſufficient Model of Church Government and Diſcipline. My Lord of *Sarum* *, ſpeaking of this Matter, ſays, "It has yet wanted the chief Force, for "penitentiary Canons have not been ſet up, and "the Government of the Church is not yet "brought into the Hands of Churchmen; ſo "that in this Point (with reſpect to Govern-"ment) the Reformation wants ſome part of "its finiſhing." And † elſewhere, touching upon the ſame Subject, he ſays, "The Refor-"mation, tho' conducted with good Intentions "and happy Beginnings, was not carried on to "the Perfection *that was deſign'd* and wiſh'd for; "adding the *Proviſo*, that had paſs'd in King "*Henry* the VIIIth's Time, that continu'd all "the Canon-Law then receiv'd in *England*, till "a Code of Eccleſiaſtical Laws was prepar'd; "(which, tho' attempted and well compos'd, "was never ſetled) has fix'd amongſt us *many* "*groſs Abuſes*, beſides the dilatory Forms of thoſe "Courts, which make all the Proceedings in "them both ſlow and chargeable. This has in "a great Meaſure enervated all Church Diſci-"pline: A faint Wiſh that's read on *Aſh-Wed-"neſday*, intimates a Deſire of reviving the an-"tient Diſcipline, yet no Progreſs has been made "to render that effectual.

think, depends upon the Statute of the 26th of *Henry* the VIIIth, C. 1. wherein the King is declar'd rightfully the Supreme Governor of the *Church of England*, and to have full Power from time to time to viſit, redreſs, reform and amend all ſuch Errors, &c. which by any manner of Spiritual Juriſdiction may lawfully be reform'd, &c. which was confirm'd by a Statute in the 1ſt of *Elizabeth*; but of this the Lawyers muſt judge.

* Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 2. *p.* 407.

† Ibid. *Part* 3. *p.* 330.

NOR

NOR can one eaſily imagine, the Plan of their Worſhip is what the firſt Compilers of it either deſir'd or deſign'd. It was not ſo improbable a Report as Mr. *Strype* * ſuppoſes it, that was carried about in *Francfort* among the *Engliſh* Exiles there, *viz.* "That *Bullinger* ſhould "ſay, *Cranmer* had drawn up a Book of Prayers "an hundred times (*i. e.* many times) more "perfect than that which was then in Being; "but the ſame could not take place, for that "he was match'd with ſuch a wicked Clergy "and Convocation." 'Tis certain that Good Man had projected and aim'd at more than was done in other Matters, as may be infer'd from his Letter to *Cromwel*, to get the Prebendaries chang'd into a more uſeful Inſtitution. I am ſenſible, many of later Times ſtrangely extol this Performance, *(the Service-Book)* and ſome have the Weakneſs to inſinuate as if it was *inſpir'd*. To which purpoſe we have frequent mention of the Teſtimony given to it by the *Parliament*, which confirm'd it in *Edward* the VIth's Time, *viz.* that the Compilers drew it up *by the Aid of the Holy Ghoſt*. This is generally printed in the moſt diſtinguiſhing Characters by Writers of that Stamp. Dr. *Nichols* † having occaſion to mention it, (*viz.* the Compliment of the Parliament) gives it in *Latin* thus: *Sancti Spiritus Afflatu inſpirati & adjuti, Inſpir'd and aſſiſted by the* Afflatus *of the Holy Spirit:* But ſurely this muſt paſs for *Rhetoricating*, to ſay no more of it. It was a good Work for the Time, and a happy Beginning; but, if one may ſay it without Offence, I can't but think that thoſe who make it a compleat Model of Goſpel-Worſhip, and are for a *Ne plus ultra*, as

* Memor. of *Cranmer*, p. 266. † Apparat. ad Defen. Eccl. *Ang.* p. 9.

if

if * 'twas impoſſible to improve it, do no great Honour to the Reformers, and leſs to themſelves.

Reformers accommodate themſelves to the Prejudices of the Times.

3. 'TIS plain, to a Demonſtration, that the firſt Reformers had very great Regard in what they did to the Circumſtance of the Time, *accommodating themſelves to the Infirmities and Prejudices* of thoſe they had to deal with. To reform all at once, ſays *Fuller* †, had been the ready way to reform nothing at all; *New Wine muſt be gently poured into old Bottles.* He adds, Our Reformers began moderately, as the Subject would give 'em leave; for as careful Mothers, on Condition they can get their Children to part with Knives, are content to let 'em play with Rattles; ſo they permitted ignorant Peo-

* Some have gone ſo high in the Commendations of the Service-Book, as to ſay, that the Wit of Men and Angels could not mend it; and that 'tis a ſufficient Diſcharge of the Miniſter's Duty but to read it. (Abbot *againſt Church-forſakers*, p. 13.) And Mr. *Norris* is ſaid to have told the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in a Sermon before 'em, that they had a Liturgy ſo divinely compos'd, that if the Angels in Heaven needed Prayer, they might uſe it. The Learned Dr. *Beveridge*, in his Diſcourſe of the Excellency of the Common-Prayer, (*2d Edit. 4to. p.* 32.) goes pretty far. He extols the Prudence and Piety of the Reformers, for compiling the Book of Common-Prayer, ſo exactly conformable to the Word of God, and that Apoſtolical Canon, *Let all things be done to edifying.* This, ſays he, I can't but aſcribe to the *ſame extraordinary Aid and Aſſiſtance, from God*, whereby they were afterwards enabled to ſuffer, and confirm what they had done with their Blood: And we have other Inſtances wherein Men in the Warmth of their Zeal, for that which they affect, have run out into ſuch like Flights. Thus Pope *Leo* complimented our King *Henry* the VIIIth, upon his writing againſt *Luther* in Defence of the Seven Sacraments, in a flattering Letter he ſent him; telling him it appeared, *Spiritum aſſiſſe ſanctum apparet: That the Holy Ghoſt aſſiſted him.* And thus Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, where King *James* was *Moderator*, ſaid, He was verily perſuaded the King ſpake *by the Spirit of God.* But ſurely ſuch Expreſſions can ſignify nothing, except it be the Tranſports of the Authors; and whether they don't intend to diſparage the *undoubted* Work of the Holy Spirit (extraordinarily aſſiſting and inſpiring) may deſerve Conſideration.

† Ch. Hiſt. *Lib.* 7. *p.* 374.

ple ſtill to keep ſome of their *fond and fooliſh* Cuſtoms, that they might remove from them the moſt dangerous Superſtitions. And the ſame thing is taken notice of in a Letter to *Bullinger*, wrote by ſome of the Reform'd Religion here: They tell him, That many popiſh Ceremonies were *ſtill* retain'd *, having a new Signification put upon 'em; and that ſuch Things as were Viſible, were thought fit to be retain'd, to prevent Commotions; and for this Reaſon 'twas that the Sign of the Croſs, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* † acknowledges, was ſtill kept in ſome part of their Worſhip (tho' moſt groſly abus'd in latter Ages) "Becauſe, *ſays he*, 'twas made uſe "of among the People, to defame the Refor-"mers, that they had no Veneration for the "Croſs of Chriſt." And therefore to prevent the Miſchief of ſuch a popular Cry, they indulge them in this and ſuch like Matters. As for Doctrinals, they might more ſafely and with leſs Offence proceed according to their own Mind and Principles; the Ignorance of the People being ſuch, that they took little notice of what was done this way, provided the *viſible*, ſenſible Part of Religion might remain with 'em, which they could not eaſily bear the Loſs of; and no doubt, a Regard to theſe Prejudices of the People, very much influenc'd our Reformers in the Meaſures they took.

The Riſe and Hiſtory of Nonconformity.

4. THO' all true Proteſtants in this Kingdom are exceeding thankful for the Reformation, according to the Eſtabliſhment made by the Laws of the Land; yet there have been all along, and ſtill are, ſome that have waited for, and preſs'd forwards toward a more *perfect Reformation*. This we have reaſon to think was

* Dr. *Burnet*'s Hiſt. *Part* 3. *p.* 140. † Ibid. *Part* 2. *p.* 79.

the

the Diſpoſition of ſome of thoſe that began the Work, as before hinted. *Cranmer* was not the only Man who ſaid, * "That he confeſſed ma-"ny ſuperfluous Things ought to be taken a-"way, and that he did earneſtly deſire they "might be chang'd for the better."

IN King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, the Reformation was but an *Embryo*, the Day only began to dawn; and tho' all that wiſh'd well to the Work rejoyc'd when they ſaw the Foundation laid, yet 'tis known many of 'em were ſo far from being ſatisfied with thoſe imperfect Beginnings, that they contended even unto Blood againſt what was then requir'd.

IN the next Reign, tho' the Reformation advanc'd a great Way, compar'd with what it had attain'd before; yet there were ſeveral chief Men concern'd in it, that *aim'd at a more thorough Work*, and ſhew'd themſelves not a little uneaſy at the retaining ſo many popiſh Ceremonies and Superſtitions. *Fuller* makes *Rogers* and *Hooper* to be the Ring-leaders of this Party. He tells us, "They renounc'd all Ceremonies "practis'd by the Papiſts, conceiving (as he ex-"preſſes it after his Manner) that ſuch ought "not only to be clipt, but ſhaven with a Razor." I might reckon under the ſame Denomination ſeveral Churches of foreign Proteſtants at this Time in the Realm, that have fled from Perſecution in their own Countries, all under the Super-intendency of the famous *John Alaſco*. Theſe, as they had been acquainted with a more perfect Reformation abroad, could not but diſlike ſome Things in the *Engliſh* Eſtabliſhment: *Alaſco* declar'd his Sentiments in a Book he publiſh'd, entitled, *Forma & Ratio totius Ec-*

* Fatebatur multa detracta oportere ſuperflua, & ardentibus votis cupiebat ea in melius correcta.

cleſiaſtici Miniſterii; An Account of the whole Order of the Miniſtry of the Church: In which he ſpoke againſt *Kneeling* at the Sacrament, the *Popiſh Veſtments*, and the like; and has been cenſur'd for his Freedom, as not becoming a Stranger, eſpecially when receiv'd to Hoſpitality.

UNDER the next Reign (Queen *Elizabeth*'s) the Reformers begin more viſibly to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fall into Parties; many appear'd diſſatisfied with her Eſtabliſhment, and with the State of her Reformation; apprehending they diſcover'd ſo many *Nævi* and Blemiſhes therein, with relation to Ceremonies, Veſtments, *&c.* as very much ſullied it: Others in the mean time ſtand up for the Ceremonies, *&c.* So that *Fuller* had cauſe to ſay, *that henceforth one might behold in the Church of* England *two Armies with Banners*, and that *Nonconformity*, conceiv'd in King *Edward*'s Days, was brought forth and nurs'd in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*.

IF the Reader would have a clear and diſtinct View of theſe Matters, I muſt carry him as far back as *Francfort*: He's to know then, that the Perſecution raging here in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, ſeveral of our Divines left their Country. Some went to *Zurich*, others to *Strasburgh*, others to *Baſil*, and ſome to *Francfort*. Among thoſe at *Francfort* an unhappy Quarrel enſued, the Particulars of which may be ſeen in *Fuller* *, at large. The *Engliſh* Exiles, he tells us, came to *Francfort*, *June* 24. and by the Mediation and Favour of one of the chief Senators, had a Church granted them; the Enjoyment of which was to be between the *French* Proteſtants and them, as they ſhould agree among themſelves, with this Proviſo, *That they ſhould not diſſent from*

Diſputes at *Francfort.*

* Church Hiſt. *p.* 27.

the

the French *Church in Doctrine or Ceremony*, leſt thereby they ſhould adminiſter an Occaſion of Offence. On the 29th of *July*, the *Engliſh* had two Sermons preach'd in their new Church; after which, they proceeded to conſtitute their Church, chuſing a Miniſter and Deacons for a Time; and out of Conformity to the *French*, abrogated many Things formerly us'd in the Church of *England*, viz.

(1.) THEY concluded that the Anſwering aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be allow'd.

(2.) THE Litany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments, they omitted both as ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious.

(3.) IN place of the *Engliſh* Confeſſion, they us'd another adjudg'd by them of more Effect, and fram'd according to the State and Time.

(4.) THE ſame being ended, the People ſang a Pſalm in Metre, in a plain Tune.

(5.) THAT done, the Miniſter pray'd for Aſſiſtance of God's Spirit; and ſo proceeded to the Sermon.

(6.) AFTER Sermon, a general Prayer for all States, and particularly for *England*, was deviſ'd; which was ended with the Lord's-Prayer.

(7.) THEN follow'd a Rehearſal of the Articles of Belief; which ended, the People ſang another Pſalm, as before.

(8.) THE Miniſter pronounc'd the Bleſſing, *The Peace of God*, &c. or the like, and ſo the People departed.

THE *Engliſh* Church at *Francfort* being thus form'd and ſettled, rejoycing in their Liberties and Privileges, invite their Brethren at *Zurich*, &c. to partake with them; which they refuſe on the Account of the Change made in the *Engliſh* Service, &c. ſignifying, "They were

"ſolv'd *no whit* to recede from the Liturgy us'd "in King *Edward* the VIth's Time*." Thoſe of *Strasburgh* being alſo dealt with to joyn with the Church at *Francfort*, return anſwer by *Grindal*, in a Letter ſubſcribed by Sixteen, wherein "They intreat them to reduce the *Engliſh* "Church there, as much as poſſible, to the "Order lately ſet forth in *England*; leſt by much "altering the ſame, they ſhould ſeem to con-"demn the chief Authors thereof, and give oc-"caſion to their Adverſaries to accuſe their "Doctrine of Imperfection, and them of Mu-"tability."

DURING theſe Debates, *Knox* the famous *Scotch* Reformer comes from *Geneva* to *Francfort*, and is choſen Paſtor to the Congregation there; and ſince there had been Queſtions mov'd, about the Alterations lately made in the *Engliſh* Service-Book, he reſolves to conſult Mr. *Calvin*, and take his Opinion in the Matter: To which purpoſe he, with *Whittingham*, drew up in *Latin* an Abſtract of the Liturgy, and ſent it to *Calvin* for his Judgment thereupon. *Calvin* replies, as follows: "In the Liturgy of *England*, I ſee "there are many † *tolerable fooliſh Things*; by "theſe Words, I mean, there is not that Purity "that is to be deſir'd. Theſe Vices, tho' at "the firſt Day, they could not be amended; "yet, ſeeing there was no manifeſt Impiety, they "were *for a Seaſon* to be tolerated. Therefore "it was lawful to begin with ſuch Rudiments "or Abcedaries; but ſo that it behov'd the "Learned, Grave, and Godly Miniſters of Chriſt "to enterprize *further*, and ſet forth ſomething "more filed from Ruſt, and purer ||.

Jan. 20. 1555.

* *Stillingfleet*'s Unreaſonableneſs of Separat. *p.* 10. † Tolerabiles Ineptiæ. || *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 30.

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IN the mean Time, Dr. *Cox*, a Man of great Reputation among the *Engliſh*; as having been Tutor to *Edward* the VIth. arrives at *Francfort* with ſeveral others, who preſently ſhew'd their Diſlike of the Change made by the Brethren there. *Fuller* * ſays, that coming into the Congregation, *March* 13. with his Companions he diſcompoſed the Model of their Service, anſwering aloud after the Miniſter. And on the *Sunday* following, one of his Company, without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Congregation, got up into the Pulpit; and there read all the Litany. In the Afternoon, *Knox* in his Sermon ſharply taxes the Authors of this Diſorder, avowing many Things in the *Engliſh* Book to be ſuperſtitious, impure and imperfect; and that he would never conſent they ſhould be received into the Congregation. Both Sides ſtifly contended for their Points; at length the Senator that procured them the Liberty of the Chuch, Mr. *John Glaveberg* publickly profeſſed, "That if the reformed Order "of the Congregation of *Francfort* was not "therein obſerved, as he had opened the "Church Door to them, ſo he would ſhut "it again. *Anno* 1555.

Cox ſeeing himſelf worſted in that Encounter, has Recourſe to a diſhonourable Stratagem, and that was to accuſe *Knox* of no leſs than high Treaſon againſt the Emperor, for a Paſſage in a Book preached many Years ago in *England*; in which it ſeems he ſhould ſay, that the *Emperor* was no leſs an Enemy to Chriſt than was *Nero*. "Strange! ſays Dr. *Fuller* *, "that Words ſpoken ſome Years ſince in ano-"ther Land againſt the Emperor, to whom "then *Knox* ow'd no natural Allegiance, ſhould

* *Fuller's* Ch. Hiſt. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 30.

" in this unhappy Juncture of Time be urged " againſt him by Exiles of his own Religion, even " to the endangering of his Life." However, this Device had its deſired Effect. The State of *Francfort* (as an *Imperial* Town, concerned to be tender of the Emperor's Honour, will'd *Knox* to depart the City, which he did *March* Anno 1556. 25. to the great Grief of his Friends.

AFTER the driving away of *Knox*, *Cox* and his Adherents carry all before them. *Wittingham* headed thoſe that were for the purer Form, as they thought it; but no Accommodation between them being expected, tho' earneſtly endeavoured by *Wittingham*; (*Cox* refuſing a Reference) *Wittingham* and his Friends flee from the Face of their angry Brethren and receive a Blow at parting, being branded with the odious Name of *Schiſmaticks* *.

WHEN the Storm was over in *England* by the Death of *Queen Mary*, theſe *Fugitives* return home to enjoy their Religion, and aſſiſt in the Eſtabliſhment of it in their own Country; but as may well be ſuppoſed, bring their *different Opinions* along with them; which occaſion'd no ſmall Diſſenſion in the *Engliſh* Church; one Party zealouſly contending to reduce Things to the ſacred Standard of the holy Scriptures, and the Example of the moſt primitive and pureſt Ages of Chriſtianity: The other as zealouſly oppoſing them herein, reſolving to abide by what they had done; *& hinc illæ Lachrymæ*; Hence the Church was miſerably torn and di-

* *Fuller* gives a Liſt of thoſe that upon this Occaſion left; or rather were thruſt out of the Congregation of *Francfort*, viz.

William Williams, William Wittingham, Anthony Gilby, Chriſtopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Fox, Thomas Wood, William Kethe, John Kethe, John Hilton, Chriſtopher Southous, Nicholas Purfote, John Eſcot, Thomas Grafton, William Walton, Lawrence Kent, John Helmham, Anthony Carier.

vided

vided; the Reformation check'd, the Glory of it ſullied; and *the Thing* itſelf greatly endangered.

I'LL only *add*,

5. Such as ſtood for a further Reformation acted with a different Latitude; and have met with a very different Treatment, according to the Temper and Spirit that prevailed in the Church in the ſeveral Times in which they lived.

SOME that were moſt pliable, and were for retaining the old Veſtments, Ceremonies, Forms, &c. *did not act from any Opinion of the Excellency* and Sanctity of theſe Things, or that they were beſt in themſelves; but partly out of Regard to the firſt Reformers. Thus the *Engliſh* at *Strasburgh* urge thoſe at *Frankfort*, to keep to the Order ſet forth in *England*; leſt ſay they, by much altering of the ſame, they ſhould ſeem to condemn the firſt Authors thereof; who as they now ſuffer, ſo are they moſt ready to confirm that Fact with the Price of their Blood *. They did it partly out of Regard to the *Queen*. Dr. *Burnet* in his Travels mentioning the Letters he read at *Zurich*, that paſſed between *Bullinger* and ſeveral of our Reformers, (the Originals of which were laid up in the Archives there) ſays, "It appears from thoſe Letters, that the "Biſhops preſerved the Things then conteſted, rather in *Compliance* with the Queen's Inclinations, than *out of any liking* they had themſelves unto them.

Ceremonies retained out of Regard to the firſt Reformers

SEVERAL that comply'd, and wholly conform'd to the Rules and Orders of the Church, not only *ſignify'd their Diſlike* of ſome Things retain'd, but endeavoured all they could *the Removal of them*. *Jewel* preſently after his Con-

Several that at firſt comply'd with the Rules of the *Church*, diſliked them, and endeavoured the Removal of ſome things retain'd.

* *Stillingfleet's* Unreaſonableneſs of Separation, p. 10.

ſecration

ſecration * writes to *Peter Martyr*, telling him they were engaged in Queſtions about the Lawfulneſs of having Images in the Church; adding, "It ſcarce could be believed to what a Degree "of Folly, Men that were thought to have a "right Judgment of Things, were carried in "that Matter: There was not one of all thoſe "whom he (*Martyr*) knew, that was drawn "to be of that Mind, beſides *Cox*; he was "told that 'twas reſolved upon to have Cruci-"fixes of Silver or Tinn ſet up in all Church-"es: And that ſuch as would not obey this, "were to be turned out of their Biſhopricks; "but ſays, if that was true *he would be no lon-"ger a Biſhop.*

April 1. IN the ſame Year *Sandys* writes, he was preſſed to accept the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, he ſaw if he abſolutely refuſed it, the Queen would have been highly offended; but he found it more truly a Burden than an Honour. The Queen he ſays, thought fit to have a Crucifix with the *Bleſſed Virgin* and *St. John* ſtill in her Chappel, which ſome of them could not bear; he himſelf had ſpoken freely to the *Queen* about it, ſeeing the ſuperſtitious People plainly worſhipped the Idol; but the *Queen* was ſo diſpleaſed as to threaten to deprive him; tho' ſince that Time ſhe was more ſoftned, *&c.* The Images were removed, but the Popiſh Veſtments were *ſtill* uſed; yet he hoped they ſhould not laſt long.

IN the Year 1562. we find great Struggles in Convocation about theſe Matters, and ſome warm Endeavours for the further improving the Reformation. To which Purpoſe ſeveral Articles were offered to the Houſe. The firſt

* Feb. 4. 1560. Bp. of *Sar.* Hiſt. Reformat. Pt. 3. p. 290.

was

was *, " That all Holy-Days except Sundays, " and the Feasts that related to Christ should be " abrogated; That the Ceremony of the Cross " in Baptism should be omitted; and that for " as much as divers Communicants were not " able to kneel, during the Communion, by " reason of Infirmities; and some also kneel and " † knock superstitiously, that therefore the Or- " der of kneeling be left to the Ordinary within " his Jurisdiction. Again, that it be suffici- " ent for the Minister (once) in Time of di- " vine Service and ministring the Sacraments, " to use a Surplice; that Organs be remov'd." Many protested against any Alterations at all, and publick Disputation ensu'd. In Conclusion the House was divided and reckoned; 43 voted for the Propositions and Alterations, and 35 against them; but when the *Proxies* were counted, the latter carried it by one Voice; so that says my Author, they were agreed to by a Majority of eight of those that were present and heard the Disputations; but were out voted by a Majority of one Voice, a *Proxy* of an *absent Person*.

IN the same Convocation, a Book of Discipline was propos'd. Whether this was the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws prepared by *Cranmer* and others; or what else it was, does not appear says the late Bishop of *Sarum* ||. He adds, that in one of his *Zurich Letters* 'tis said, that some Things agreed to in this Synod were afterwards suppress't, which he supposes, relates to that Book of Discipline. Other Things were prepar'd for the Convocation; we have

* *Burnet*, Part 3. p. 302.

† 'Tis a Practice of the Papists at the Elevation of the *Host*, to beat their Breasts saying, *Culpa Mea*, which its like was refer'd to here.

|| *Burnet*, Part 3. p. 304.

the

the Particulars at large in Mr. *Strype*, an Abſtract of which the Biſhop gives in his Work. *It was propoſed, that all Copes, Veſtments and Surplices ſhould be taken away; that none but Miniſters ſhould baptize; that the Table for the Sacrament ſhould not ſtand Altar-wiſe; that Organs and curious Singing ſhould be removed; that Godfathers and Godmothers ſhould not anſwer in the Child's Name, but ſhould recite the Creed, and deſire that the Child might be baptized in that Faith; That the Queen and Parliament be prayed to renew the Act for impowering thirty two Perſons to gather Eccleſiaſtical Laws and to review thoſe appointed in King* Edward's *Time.*

BUT all this came to nothing; the Queen ſays Dr. *Burnet*, returned Back to the Rules in King *Edward*'s firſt Book; and being impowered by a Clauſe inſerted in the Act of Uniformity, to ordain and publiſh ſuch further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for the edifying of the Church, *&c.* ſhe purſu'd her own Inclinations, and ſettled Matters accordingly: Upon which a great Diverſity in Practice followed, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* * informs us; and yet many even of thoſe that comply'd did not fail to complain upon Occaſion. Witneſs Dr. *Horn*, Biſhop of Wincheſter, in his Letter to *Gualter*, *July* 16, 1564. He tells them in *England* they were ſtill in fear of the Snares of the Papiſts; that the Act of Parliament that eſtabliſh'd the Veſtments, they had no Hand in: That the Biſhops had obey'd the Law, and they have Reaſon to think, had they deſerted their Stations upon that Account, their Enemies might have come into their Places. Yet upon this there was a Diviſion among them; ſome thought they ought rather to have ſuffer'd themſelves to have been

Our Reformers write to ſome Divines beyond Sea.

* *Burnet*, Part 3. p. 306.

put from their Miniſtry than obey the Law; others were of a different Mind; he deſires he would write his Opinion of this, as ſoon as poſſible. Sometime after *Grindal* joins with *Horn*, in a letter to *Bullinger* and *Gualter* *, in which they complain of the Differences among them, and ſolemnly atteſt the great God, that this Diſſenſion was not rais'd by any Fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their Door that thoſe Veſtments were not quite taken away; they declare they did not approve of that figur'd Muſick, together with the Uſe of Organs that was continued in Cathedrals. They did in no ſort approve of Women's baptizing; they gave way till God ſhall ſend † better Times

* *Ibid* p. 314.

† The great Motive upon which ſeveral of them acted in their Compliance, was the Neceſſity of the Church: They ſaw if they refus'd or deſerted their Miniſtry, ſuch would get into their Places as would ruin the Reformation. *Grindal* often conſulted *Peter Martyr* on this Head, Whether ſeeing he was not left to his Liberty with Reſpect to his Garments, &c. he ſhould accept of the Epiſcopal Function. *Martyr* in one of his firſt Anſwers (Anno 1559.) tells him, ſince theſe Habits carried in them an Appearance of the Maſs, and were merely the Remainders of Popery; It was he ſaid, the learned *Bullinger*'s Opinion, chief Miniſter of *Zurich*, they were to be refrained from by *Grindal*, leaſt by his Example, a Thing that was ſcandalous ſhould be confirmed. But *Martyr* ſaid, Tho' he was always againſt the Uſe of ſuch Ornaments, yet he ſaw the preſent Danger, leſt they ſhould be put from the Office of Preaching; he further ſuggeſts, he might be an Inſtrument of getting them taken away; if he earneſtly laboured therein; but if not, yet if he declined the Place, another might ſucceed who would not take Care to have thoſe Relicks rejected; but perhaps would rather cheriſh and defend 'em: (*Stryp's* Life of Archbiſhop *Grindal*, p. 29.) And when at another Time *Grindal* intimated to *Martyr* how much many were offended at the Epiſcopal Habits; *Martyr* anſwered, He was to continue to ſpeak againſt the Uſe of them; and that they might eſcape all Blame if they declared in their Sermons, that thoſe Garments diſpleaſed them alſo; and that they would uſe their Endeavour at one Time or other to get them laid aſide. (*Ibid* p. 37.) And we find ſeven Years after this (*Ibid* p. 118.) when Biſhop *Grindal* was debating the Matter of Conformity with ſome Diſſenters taken

Times, to the Form of making the Sponſors anſwer in the Child's Name, for which St. *Auſtin*'s Authority was pretended; but they did openly declare that they thought 'twas not convenient, nor did they approve of uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm. For the Abuſes of their Courts, tho' they can't correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh againſt them, which they would continue ſtill to do, till they ſhould be ſent back *to Hell from whence they came:* They had labour'd in the laſt Parliament all they could to purge out all Errors and Abuſes; which tho' it had not the deſir'd Effect, yet they would not give over their Endeavours to bring it to a happy Concluſion; and with ſuch Apprehenſions of Things did the moſt Eminent Reformers accept of their Preferments, and continue their Service in the Church, *waiting and hoping for a fuller Reformation.*

Some ſtood out, and would not comply with the Terms of Conformity.

LET me further add, As ſome comply'd that did not approve, (which was the Caſe of ſeveral of Queen *Elizabeth*'s firſt Biſhops) ſo there were others that ſtood out, and could not ſubmit to the Terms of Conformity at that Time. Dr. *Sampſon* was one of theſe: He had been abroad with the reſt of the Exiles; and it ſeems as he was coming Home, upon the Death of Queen *Mary*, receives Information that a Biſhoprick was deſign'd for him. Whereupon he writes to *Peter Martyr*, (who was in great Eſteem among the Reformers, and accounted the moſt learned Profeſſor in *Europe*) and deſires his Advice about it; telling him he ſcrupled Swearing

ken at *Plummers-Hall*; he owned to them (they having accuſed him as going like one of the Maſs Prieſts) that tho' he wore a Cope and Surplice in *Paul*'s, *yet he had rather miniſter without theſe Things*, but for Order's Sake and Obedience to the Queen.

to the Queen *as Supream Head of the Church under Chriſt* *; he thought Chriſt was the *Sole Head* of the Church, and no ſuch Expreſſion of any *Inferior Head* was found in the Scripture: He thought likewiſe that the want of Diſcipline made a Biſhop that he could not do his Duty. The whole Method of electing Biſhops was quite different from the primitive Inſtitution, and the Conſent either of the Clergy or People was not ſo much as ask'd; the ſuperſtitious Dreſs ſeem'd likewiſe unbecoming: Upon the whole, he was reſolv'd to apply himſelf to preach, but to avoid having any Share in the Government till he ſaw a *full Reformation*. On the 30th of *May* he wrote again that a Biſhoprick had been offer'd him, but that he had refus'd it; and deſires *Peter Martyr* not to cenſure this, till he knew the whole State of the Matter. *Anno* 1559.

SOME Years after *Sampſon* and *Humphreys* joyn in a Letter to *Zurich*; the Occaſion of which was the printing a Letter from *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, adviſing not to forſake the Church on the Account of the Veſtments. In this Letter they carry their Complaints farther; "They "† complain of the Muſick and Organs, and "making Sponſors in Baptiſm anſwer in the "Child's Name; of the Croſs in Baptiſm; of "the Court of Faculties, and of paying for "Diſpenſations. They don't think the preſcri-"bing Habits to the Clergy meerly a civil Thing; "they think St. *Paul's* κόσμῳ belongs to the "Ornaments of the Mind; and how can that "Habit be thought decent that was brought "in to dreſs up the Theatrical Pomp of Pope-"ry? The Papiſts gloried in this our Imitation *Anno* 1565.

* *Burnet's* Hiſt. Ref. *Part* 3. *p.* 291; † Ibid. *p.* 310.

"of

" of them. They approv'd of ſetting Rules " concerning Order; but that ought not to be " apply'd to this, that overturns the Peace and " Quiet of the Church, in Things that are not " either *neceſſary or uſeful*; that don't tend to " Edification, but ſerve to recommend thoſe " Forms, which all do now abhor. They were " not againſt retaining any thing that was good, " becauſe it was abus'd in Popery. They affirm " in King *Edward*'s Time, the Surplice was not " univerſally us'd nor preſs'd; and that Copes " then taken away, are now to be reſtor'd. This " is not to extirpate Popery, but to plant it a- " gain; and inſtead of going forward, is to go " back. It was known how much Religion the " Papiſts put in the Surplice, and at this Time " it is held in as great Eſteem as the Monks " Habits were wont to be; the Uſe of it may " by Degrees bring back the ſame Superſtition. " They did not put Religion in Habits; they " only oppos'd thoſe that did; and they thought " it gave ſome Authority to Servitude, to de- " part from their Liberty.

" THEY hated Contention, and were ready " to enter into friendly Conferences about this " Matter. They don't deſert their Churches, " and leave them expos'd to Wolves, but to their " great Grief *are driven from them.* They leave " their Brethren to ſtand or fall to their own " Maſters; and deſire the ſame favourable For- " bearance from them tho' in vain hitherto; it " was by other Men's Perſuaſions the Queen " was irritated againſt them; and now to ſup- " port theſe Orders, all that is contended is " *that they are not Unlawful.*

" THE Antient Fathers had their Habits, " but not peculiar to the Biſhops, nor diſtinct

" from

" from the Laity: The * Inſtances of St. *John* " and St. *Cyprian* are ſingular. In *Tertullian*'s " Time the *Pallium* was the common Habit of " all Chriſtians. *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks of white " Garments, but with no Approbation, he ra- " ther finds Fault with them: They acknow- " ledge the Doctrine of the Church was now " pure; and why ſhould there be a Defection in " any part of our Worſhip? Why ſhould we bor- " row any thing from Popery? Why ſhould they " not agree in Rites as well as Doctrine with " other Reform'd Churches? They had a good " Opinion of their Biſhops; they once bore the " ſame Croſs with 'em, and preached the ſame " Chriſt with 'em. Why are they now turn'd " out of their Benefices, and ſome put in Priſon " only for Habits? They tell *Bullinger* in the " Cloſe, they don't diſpute only about a Cap, " but of very important Things; and that he " may underſtand the Matter, they ſend him " ſome of the *Stubble of Popery* left with 'em; " and then they take notice of certain *Maculæ* " or Blemiſhes in their publick Prayers, and in " the Form of Adminiſtring the Supper, of Mu- " ſick, Diſpenſations mention'd before; that " Women Baptiz'd, that the Sacrament muſt be " taken Kneeling, *&c.* As for Diſcipline they " had nothing of it, that in the Government " of the Church they had many Footſteps of " Anti-Chriſtianiſm; Pluralities, Licenſe for " Non-Reſidence, and that all Things were ſold " in their Courts as formerly at *Rome* †, *&c.*"

* *Bullinger* and *Gualter* had mention'd in their Letter, that St. *John* is ſaid to have carried on his Head ſomewhat *like a Mitre*. St. *Cyprian* is ſaid to have a peculiar Garment, called a *Dalmatica*: To which Paſſages they here refer.

† Dr. *Burnet*, Part 3. *Coll.* Lib. 6. No. 79.

I HAVE been the larger upon this Remonſtrance of theirs, to ſhew, not only that ſome ſtood out, but upon what Account they did ſo; and alſo becauſe theſe were Chief Men, Brethren and Companions with the Biſhops in Tribulation: Many more there were that follow'd the ſame Sentiments; tho' ſome kept further off from the Church than others.

Great Moderation inexacting *Conformity.*

HOWEVER, Things were carried *with ſo much Mildneſs* for a conſiderable Time, that very few comparatively ſeparated from the Church. During King *Edward*'s Reign, we read of no Subſcriptions requir'd either to the Service-Book, or Articles of Religion: Nay, ſuch was the Moderation then, that a † Rubric of one of the Common-Prayer Books left it unto the Diſcretion of the Miniſter how much to read when there was a Sermon; and when they began with Subſcriptions, the firſt was only to the Articles of Religion, agreed to in the Convocation, 1562. The Members of the Convocation having ſubſcrib'd 'em, the reſt of the Clergy were call'd upon to do it; and 'tis not like that many refus'd, or if they did, that they incurr'd any great Penalties. The famous *John Fox* the *Martyrologiſt*, being ſummon'd by Archbiſhop *Parker* to ſubſcribe, (as *Fuller* * ſuppoſes) brings out his New-Teſtament in *Greek*; adding, *To this will I ſubſcribe*; but refus'd the other Subſcription, ſaying, *I have nothing in the Church ſave a Prebend at* Salisbury, *and much good may it do you, if you will take it away from me:* Nor did they proceed againſt him for his Refuſal, but he kept his Place to his Dying-Day, as did alſo Dr. *Laurence Humphrey* Dean of *Wincheſter* ||, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in

† Smectym. Rediv. *p.* 10. * Hiſt. *Lib.* 9. *p.* 76. || Id. *ibid.*

Oxford,

Oxford, notwithstanding his Non-subscribing. And no Question, 'twas by the like Connivance that *Sampson*, *Lever* and *Coverdale*, preach'd in *London*, (tho' they wore not the Habits) as Bishop *Grindal* tells *Smith* they did; and exhorts him to go and hear them, if he scrupled to hear others: And Mr. *Strype* * says, That hitherto (*i. e.* to the Year 1564.) Uniformity among the Clergy in wearing the same Habits, and using the same Rites in Divine Service, was neglected, especially in *London*, not a few rejecting the Orders of the Book †.

In the Year 1564. Conformity is press'd with more Zeal: The Queen complains, in a ‖ Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that many had taken a Liberty of varying from her Injunctions. Dr. ‡ *Burnet* says in this Letter, (written *January* 1564-5.) She reflected with some Acrimony of Stile on the Diversities among Ministers, *&c.* as if they were the Effect of his and the other Bishops Remissness; requiring he should give Orders to bring all to Uniformity throughout the whole Kingdom: Upon this the Bishops met, and certain Orders or Rules came forth; and on the 24th of *March*, according to *Strype* **, the Use of the Scholars Gown and Cap, and the Surplice in all Divine Administrations was enjoyn'd; and also the Use of the Common-Prayer, and Subscription to all this; or else a Sequestration immediately to follow, and after three Months standing out, Deprivation *ipso facto*.

This occasion'd great Perplexity among the Ministers. One *Earle*, Incumbent of *Milwads*, in a Journal of his says ††, "Great was the Sor-"row of most Ministers and their Mourning,

* Life of *Grindal*, p. 116. † Ibid. ‖ Ibid. p. 97. ‡ Pt. 3. p. 306. ** Life of *Grindal*, p. 98. †† Ibid.

" for that they could not perform their Miniſtry " in the Singleneſs of their Heart." Many upon this were ſequeſtred, and ſeveral turn'd out, as Dr. *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, *Whitehead*, *Allen*, &c. Dr. *Sampſon* Dean of Chriſt-Church, *Oxon*, who was, as *Fuller* has it, *Propter Puritaniſmum exauctoratus*, deprivd for *Puritaniſm*. Towards ſome of theſe great Rigour was uſed, they were forced either to leave their Country or go to Goal; tho' others found Favour, and were conniv'd at, at the Requeſt of noble and honourable Perſons, ſays *Strype* *; and, indeed, long after this, when Things grew worſe with the *Puritans*, ſundry obtain'd a Mitigation of the Terms of Conformity; and by ſpecial Indulgence kept in the Church. Dr. *Calamy* † tells us, he has ſeen a Subſcription ſign'd by Fifteen Miniſters of *London*, bearing Date *February* 13. 1583. wherein inſtead of the Form generally requir'd, *That the Book of Common-Prayer and Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be us'd, and that they would uſe that and none other:* They declare, " That for " the Book of Common-Prayer, they are con- " tent to uſe it for the Peace of the Church; or " if they be found offending in any part, to " ſubmit to the Penalty of it; and for the Ar- " ticles of Religion, they conſented to them for " ſo much as concerneth Faith and Sacraments " therein." Now upon Connivance in ſome, and ſuch favourable Abatements towards others, many of the old Puritans kept their Stations in the Church.

Conformity preſs'd more rigorouſly.

BUT alas! that I muſt add, this Lenity and Mildneſs was after a Time (when the *Theologi*

* Life of *Grindal*, p. 98. † Defence of Mod. Nonconform. *Part* 2. *p.* 111.

Crucii,

Crucis, the Biſhops began to drop off, that had known what 'tis to bear the Croſs) quite loſt out of the Church. The Queen's Inclination (as did her Succeſſors) ran high for Uniformity and Ceremonies; and accordingly ſuch were ordinarily prefer'd that had the hotteſt Zeal againſt the *Puritans*, and were moſt vigorous in preſſing Conformity; by which Means new Laws were made, and both new and old more rigorouſly executed.

SUBSCRIPTION was urg'd more peremptorily, and Penalties inflicted on Refuſers. The firſt Subſcription was only to the Articles of Religion, drawn up *Anno* 1562. as hinted before. In 1564. Subſcription was required to the Advertiſements or Proteſtations, as they were call'd, which bore hard on many. In 1573. *Parker* was put upon urging Conformity, and to that purpoſe the Clergy are requir'd to ſubſcribe to certain Articles, by which they approv'd the Articles of the Convocation *Anno* 1562. own'd the Queen Head of the Church (or Supream Governour); that there is nothing repugnant in the Book of Common-Prayer to the Word of God; and that the Preaching and Order of Adminiſtring Sacraments in the Church of *England* is conſonant to the Word of God. In 1583. under the Pontificate of *Whitgift* (who was a Man after the Queen's own Heart) the Matter of Subſcription was reviv'd, and three Articles were put forth, the firſt relating to the Queen's Supremacy, and diſclaiming a Foreign Juriſdiction; the third relating to the forementioned Articles of Religion; neither of which Articles were much objected againſt. The ſecond was, "That the Book of Common-Prayer "and the Ordination of Biſhops, Prieſts and "Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the

"Word of God, but may lawfully be uſed; "and that they will uſe that and none other." This he was not only to propoſe, but ſee punctually executed: The Queen, as the Lord * *Herbert* tells us, having charg'd him upon his Ad- "vancement" "to take care to reſtore the Diſ- "cipline of the Church and Uniformity in the "Service of God; which, thro' the Connivance "of the Prelates, Obſtinacy of the Puritans, "and Power of ſome Noblemen was neglected." And accordingly *Whitgift* goes to work, beginning with the three Articles referr'd to; and he follow'd his Blow to purpoſe during his Power in the Church, making Havock of the Puritans, and haling Men and Women committed them to Priſon, and many were ſilenc'd by him: Dr. *Calamy* † ſays 60 in *Suffolk*, 64 in *Norfolk*, 21 in *Lincolnſhire*, 38 in *Eſſex*, as appears from a Manuſcript in his Poſſeſſion. The Author || of the *Hiſtory of Conformity* ‡ mentions the ſame Manuſcript as what he had ſeen, and gives the ſame Account, only ſays they were 60 odd in *Suffolk*, and adds the Number is not a few, conſidering that in *Eſſex* at that Time there was an Account of 163 Miniſters that never preach'd, only read Prayers and Homilies.

Petitions in Behalf of the Miniſters perſecuted for Non-Conformity.

GREAT Endeavours were us'd to avert the Storm, and, if 'twas poſſible, to appeaſe the Queen and the Archbiſhop: Many Petitions were preſented to the Archbiſhop and to the Council; ſome by Gentlemen in the Behalf of the Miniſters, ſome by the Miniſters themſelves. The Author of the *Hiſtory of Conformity* ſays **, he could fill a competent Volume with Supplications of this Nature out of a Manuſcript in

* Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. 2. p. 494. † Defence of Mod. Non-Conformity, *Part* 2. *p.* 111. || Small Pamphlet printed in 1689. ‡ Page 12. ** Page 13.

his

his Hand; ſeveral he recites, I ſhall only tranſcribe one in the Margin * as a Specimen. It was from the Miniſters of *Lincolnſhire* to the Lords of the Council.

AND

* *The Supplication of the Miniſters of* Lincolnſhire *to the Lords of the Council.*

FOR as much (Right Honourable) as the Lord of Heaven and Earth hath ſubſtituted your Honours next under her Majeſty to procure Paſſage to his Goſpel, Beauty to his Church, and Glory to his Kingdom; in which Buſineſs of the Lord, to the great Joy of all thoſe which pray heartily for *Jeruſalem*, hitherto you have happily proceeded. We whoſe Names are under written, whom the ſame Lord hath in Mercy placed over ſome of his People here in *Lincolnſhire*, as Paſtors and Preachers, to feed them with the Word of Truth, do humbly beſeech your Honours, to regard the pitiful and woful Eſtate of our Congregations and People in theſe Parts; which being deſtitute of our Miniſtry, *by the Means of a Subſcription*, generally and ſtrictly urged now *of late* by the Biſhops Officers, do mourn and lament. It is well known to all your Lordſhips, that an abſolute Subſcription is required thro' the whole Province of *Canterbury*, to three Articles: The 1ſt, Concerning her Majeſty's Supreme Authority; the 2d, To the Book of Common-Prayer, with that of Conſecrating Biſhops, and ordering Prieſts and Deacons; the 3d, Concerning the Book of Articles. As touching the firſt, We offer ourſelves to a full Subſcription, as always heretofore we have done; as alſo to the Articles of Religion, and cannot be accepted herein, without an abſolute Subſcribing to the other; unto which we dare not condeſcend, being not as yet many of us fully acquainted with the Book of Conſecrating Biſhops, and ordering Prieſts and Deacons; and all of us unreſolved and unſatisfied in our Conſciences in many Points of the Common-Prayer. May it pleaſe your Lordſhips alſo favourably to conſider, that in refuſing an abſolute Subſcription, we do it not out of any Arrogance, but for that we have not any ſufficient Reſolution, which we earneſtly deſired, of ſome Doubts about divers weighty Matters and Points in the ſame Book; which Requeſts of ours ſith we could not obtain, we deſired that in the leaſt in our Subſcription, we might make Exception of the Things whereof we doubted, *which they have utterly denied us.* For which Cauſes (Right Honourable) we fearing to ſubſcribe ſo abſolutely as we were urged, *we are all ſuſpended* from the Execution of the Function of our Miniſtry amongſt our People, to the great Danger of their Souls, and Danger of loſing the Fruit of our former poor Labours, which we have, by God's Grace, employ'd upon them: Wherefore we humbly crave of your Honours, our Cauſe being, as we are perſuaded, the Lord's own Cauſe, and his Church's, that it may be conſider'd; and that ſince we can neither be impeach'd of falſe

AND even the Council themſelves became Interceſſors to the Biſhops for the diſtreſs'd Miniſters; "They lay before them the lamentable "State of the Church in *Eſſex*; that a great "Number of Zealous and Learned Preachers "were ſuſpended from their Cures, whoſe Pla-"ces were vacant, or fill'd with Perſons of nei-"ther Learning nor Good-Name; they take "notice, that many of the Cures were poſſeſs'd "by Perſons unfit, for lack of Learning, or "great Faults; being charg'd, or chargeable, "with Drunkenneſs, Filthineſs of Life, Card-"playing, haunting Ale-houſes, * *&c.* They "add, Againſt whom we hear not of any Pro-"ceedings, but are quietly ſuffer'd, to the "Scandal of the Church, *&c.* Whereupon "they earneſtly deſire their † Lordſhips to take "ſome charitable Conſideration of theſe Cauſes, "that the People of the Realm may not be "deprived of their Paſtors being Learned and "Diligent, tho' in ſome Points Ceremonial "they may ſeem doubtful, only in Conſcience, "and not of Wilfulneſs."

AFTER this the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh* ‡, and Secretary *Walſingham*, importune the Archbiſhop *to abate of his Rigour*, and not purſue the *Puritans* with ſo much Sharpneſs, but all in vain: The Biſhop is inflexible, and goes on

Doctrine nor Contempt of her Majeſty's Laws, nor of refuſing the Exerciſing of the Book of Common-Prayer in our Charges, nor breeding Contention and Sedition in the Church: And again, ſince Papiſts, her Majeſties Enemies, with Atheiſts, to the Corrupting of Religion in Doctrine and Manners, do daily encreaſe; we may be reſtored to our Flocks and People in ſuch ſort, as with all Peace of Conſcience, we may go forward with the Lord's Work in building up his Houſe in our ſeveral Places.

Subſcribed by 21 *Miniſters.*

* *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſtory, *Lib.* 9. *p.* 151.

† Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*.

‡ *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſtory, *Lib.* 9. *p.* 155.

with

with Violence, driving ſome of them into Priſons, ſome out of the Land, others into their Graves. The famous *Cartwright* had no leſs than 31 Articles objected againſt him; and not giving Satisfaction was ſent to the *Fleet*. Mr. *Udal* a Man of conſiderable Account among the Puritans *, met with harſher Treatment; being arraign'd for writing a Book entitled, *Demonſtration of the Diſcipline Chriſt has preſcribed in his Word, for the Government of his Church in all Times and Places to the End of the World* †, for which he was || condemned to be executed as a Felon.

ONE notable Contrivance for the more effectual Diſcovery and Suppreſſion of theſe Perſons, was to examine ſuch as they thought fit upon the Oath *ex officio*, obliging them to anſwer any Queſtions propoſed tho' they accus'd themſelves: Thus Mr. *Stone* ‡ was drawn in to diſcover the Meetings of his Brethren in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Northampton*; the Houſes where they met, the Perſons that met, with all their Debates and Proceedings in their Meetings.

NOR could any Applications from the greateſt in the Kingdom prevail with the Queen and the Biſhop to ſtop their Hand. The Queen was *ſemper eadem* in this Cauſe, ſteadfaſt and unmoveable; or if ſhe was in Danger of being a little ſoftned, the Biſhop preſently remonſtrates againſt it, and leaves her not till he ſees her con- The Queen and A. Bp. inexorable.

firmed

* *Fuller's* Ch. Hiſt. *Lib.* 9. *p.* 200.

† *Ibid* p. 222.

|| Several were proſecuted even unto Death in this Reign, for Writing Pamphlets that were thought Seditious, as *Barrow*, *Greenwood*, &c. *John Penry* was executed for having an Hand in a Book wrote againſt the Biſhops called, *Martin Mar Prelate*; and many others were condemned for like Faults: And it ſeems, Things were carried to ſuch a Height, that the Penalty of Non-Conformity was abjuring the Land, or in Caſe of a Refuſal, Death (*Eliz.* 35. c. 1.)

‡ *Fuller's* Ch. Hiſt. *Lib* 9. *p.* 207.

firmed in her wonted Obſtinacy; witneſs his Letter to the Queen * upon the Parliament's paſſing an Act which he thought injurious to the eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, "He complains "they had given Liberty to marry at all Times "of the Year, *contrary to the old Canons*, which "ſays he, containeth Matter which tendeth to "ſlander the Church, *as having hitherto main-* "*tained an Error*". Upon the whole he concludes with humbly beſeeching her Majeſty to continue her gracious Goodneſs to them; and we find afterwards when the Commons petition the Lords for ſome Tenderneſs towards the Miniſters †; that they might have no Oath or Subſcription required of them, but ſuch as were preſcribed by the Statutes of this Realm, that they might not be troubled for Omiſſion of ſome Rites in the Book of Common-Prayer; that ſuch as had been ſuſpended or deprived for no other Offence but not ſubſcribing might be reſtored; that the high Cenſure of Excommunication might not be denounced for ſmall Matters; that Non-Reſidence be removed out of the Church, *&c.* The Archbiſhop flies to the Queen with a moſt pitiful Outcry as if the Church was ſinking at once, beſeeching her Highneſs favourably to behold their preſent State, and what it would be in Time to come, *if the Bill againſt Pluralities ſhould take any Place.*

UPON King *James*'s coming to the Crown, the Hopes of the Puritans began a little to revive; they knew where he had been educated, and might remember what he is ſaid to have declared in the national Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, *viz.* "That he praiſed God he "was King in ſo ſincere a Church, a Church

* Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Lib. 9. p. 174. † Ibid. p. 190.

"ſincerer

" ſincerer than the Church of *England*, whoſe " Service was an ill-ſaid Maſs in *Engliſh*;" and ſometimes he would boaſt of that Church as the *Morning-Star of the Reformation*, which could not but encourage ſuch as did not know him.

THE firſt remarkable Application they made to him, was in a Petition call'd the *Millenary Petition*, as having a Thouſand Hands to it, tho' *Fuller* reduces them to Seven Hundred and Fifty. 'Tis too long to be here inſerted, I can only give a very brief Abſtract of it. After acknowledging Providence in his Majeſty's Advancement they proceed, *We the Miniſters of the Goſpel, not as factious Men affecting a popular Purity in the Church, nor as* Schiſmaticks; *but as faithful Subjects of Chriſt and loyal Subjects to your Majeſty, longing for the Redreſs of divers Abuſes in the Church, could do no leſs in Obedience to God,* &c. *than to acquaint your Majeſty with our particular Griefs. Altho' divers of us that ſue for Reformation Subſcribe to the Book; ſome upon Proteſtation, ſome upon Expoſition given them; ſome with Condition rather than the Church ſhould be deprived of their Labour; yet now we to the Number of more than a Thouſand,* groaning as under a common Burden of humane Rites and Ceremonies, *do with one joint Conſent humble ourſelves at your Majeſty's Feet, to be eaſed and relieved in this Behalf*; And then they deſcend to Particulars, and *beg that the Croſs in Baptiſm be taken away; the Cap and Surplice not urged; that Examination go before the Communion; that divers Terms in the Prieſt's Abſolution be corrected; that Lord's-Days be not profaned, nor reſt on Holy-Days ſo ſtrictly enjoined: No Miniſter teach People to bow at the Name of Jeſus; that the Canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church. That none be admitted to the Miniſtry but able and ſufficient Men; that Non-Reſi-*

The Puritans fly to K. James with the greateſt expectation.

dence

dence be not permitted; that Miniſters be not urged to ſubſcribe but according to Law, to the Articles of Religion, and to the King's Supremacy only. That Men be not excommunicated for Trifles; but that Diſcipline be adminiſter'd according to Chriſt's Inſtitution. That Popiſh Canons be reverſed; that the Oath ex Officio, *by which Men are forced to accuſe themſelves, be more ſparingly uſed. Theſe (ſay they) with ſuch other Abuſes * yet remaining, we are able to ſhew not agreeable to the Scriptures, if it ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs further to hear us,* &c.

1603. and 1ſt of King *James.* *Hampton-Court* Conference.

WHAT Effect this had is not agreed; it may be, tho' that is uncertain, it occaſioned *the Conference at Hampton-Court*, which was this Year, between Nineteen on one Side (*viz.*) for Conformity) 9 Biſhops, and 8 Deans, and 2 Doctors; and 4 Divines for Non-Conformity (Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knowſtubs*, and Mr. *Chaderton*) the King himſelf being Moderator †; and he moderated ſo like a King, with ſo much Majeſty, bearing ſo hard at every Turn upon the 4 Miniſters, that one need not wonder if they ſunk below themſelves in that Diſputation; and that the King and his Nineteen Seconds run down the 4 Antagoniſts. 'Tis obſerved, the King as he brow-beat them all along, diſmis'd them with Menaces, and told them if they did not ſhortly conform they ſhould hear more of it; and that he would hurry them out of the Land ‖.

By

* *Fuller* l. 10. † *Id. Ibid.*

‖ I have ſeen a Manuſcript that gives an Account of this Matter different from *Fuller* (as does alſo Mr. *Calderwood*) with this Title, *The King's private Conference with the Biſhops and others concerning Eccleſiaſtical Reformation.* It was begun by the King and Biſhops alone. The King having addreſs'd them with great Affection, propoſes the following Points to the Biſhops, as what he deſir'd Satisfaction in.

1. The Form of Abſolution after the publick Confeſſion of Sins.

2. The

BY this Time, I preſume their Expectations from their *Morning-Star King* would begin to fail; eſpecially when *Bancroft* was advanc'd to the See of *Canterbury*) as he was this Year upon the Death of *Whitgift*) whom *Wilſon* in the Life of King *James* calls *a ſturdy Piece*, adding what *Whitgift* ſtrove to do with Mildneſs and Gentleneſs, *Bancroft* did perſevere in with Rigour and Severity *; and I leave the Reader

2. The Manner of Confirmation of Children.

3. The Toleration of private Baptiſm to be done by Lay-Men and Women.

4. Many great Errors crept in under the Title of Excommunication, by the corrupt Dealings of Chancellors, Officials, and others.

Againſt all which his Majeſty did argue and diſpute at large to our exceeding great Admiration (ſays the M. S.) of his Majeſty's not only Rhetorical and Logical, but Theological and Juridical Diſcourſes; in the End his Majeſty receiv'd good Satisfaction, tho' he was pleas'd for the better clearing of ſome Miſconſtructions here and there to order that ſome few Words in the Rubric, and Titles of ſome of the foreſaid Particulars, ſhou'd in the next Edition of the Common Prayer Book be inſerted; by Way of Explanation rather than Alteration. This Conference was on Thurſday; on the Monday following, the Conference was held between the Biſhops, &c. and Puritan-Divines. The Latter nam'd divers Abuſes, but inſiſted chiefly on Confirmation, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Surplice, private Baptiſm, Kneeling at the Communion, reading of the Apocrypha, Subſcription to the Books of Common Prayer and Articles, Excommunication for ſmall Cauſes; the Corruptions in the Biſhops and Archbiſhop's Courts, with the Oath *ex Officio*, upon ſundry catching Articles miniſtred unto the Preachers to entangle them. After that his Majeſty having diſputed in the *moſt excellent Manner*, and confuted their Objections, being therein aſſiſted now and then for Variety ſake rather than Neceſſity, by the Biſhops of *London* and *Winchester*, he diſmiſs'd them for that Time, requiring them to attend on Wedneſday before him and his Council, and all his Biſhops, to receive ſuch Directions as he ſhall be pleas'd to give them therein. The Author of the M. S. concludes, with wiſhing that his Friend to whom he ſent the Account had been preſent at the Conference, which ſays he, in my Opinion, would have wrought in you as great Comfort and Joy as ever happen'd to you in this mortal Life; to ſee and hear *ſo worthy a King and Prieſt in one Perſon*, with ſo ſacred a Majeſty, to propoſe, diſcuſs, and determine ſo many, ſo neceſſary, and ſo important Matters, ſo readily, ſo ſhortly, and ſo ſoundly, as I never look to ſee or hear the like again.

* Compleat Hiſt. of *England* *Vol.* 2. *p.* 661.

to judge what Treatment the Puritans were like to meet with from ſuch a Man, compared with whom even *a Whitgift* has the Character of *mild and gentle.*

THE great Engine the Party that now had the Aſcendant made uſe of, to batter down thoſe that ſtood in their Way, (ſuch as in ſome Things diſſented from the Eſtabliſhment, and would have the Reformation carried farther) was a Body of Canons formed in this Year's Convocation, They are in Number 141. the 36 of which concerning Subſcription, I ſhall ſubjoin an Abſtract of. "No Perſon ſhall hereafter "be received into the Miniſtry, nor ſuffered "to preach, catechiſe, or be a Lecturer or Rea-"der of Divinity in either Univerſity, unleſs "licenſed by the Archbiſhop, Biſhop of the "Dioceſs, or by one of the two Univerſities; and "except he ſhall firſt ſubſcribe theſe 3 Articles "following, (*viz. Whitgift's* Articles which "we had before;) and to avoid all Ambigui-"ties, the Canon requires, that the Subſcriber "ſet down both his Chriſtian and Sirname, and "declare he ſubſcribes to the Articles and to "all Things therein contained, *willingly and* "*ex Animo*; which was an home Thruſt at the Non-Conformiſts. Indeed no one can view theſe Canons, but muſt conclude they were framed on Purpoſe *to check and cruſh the Puritans:* I'll give the Reader a Taſte of them.

The Book of Canons form'd.

Anno 1603.

ACCORDING to theſe Canons: "Who-"ever ſhould affirm that the Church of *En-*"*gland* by Law eſtabliſh'd is not a True and "Apoſtolical Church *; or that the Form of "God's Worſhip in the Church of *England* † "eſtabliſh'd by Law, and contained in the "Book of Common-Prayer and Adminiſtration

* Cannon 3. † Ibid 4.

"of

" of Sacraments, is corrupt and ſuperſtitious;
" or that the Thirty Nine Articles are *in any*
" *Part* erroneous ||; he muſt be excommunicated
" *ipſo facto*, and not reſtor'd but by the Arch-
" biſhop or Biſhop after his Repentance, and
" publick Revocation of theſe his wicked Er-
" rors. Whoever ſhall affirm that the Rites
" and Ceremonies of the Church are ſuperſti-
" tious ‡, or ſuch as Men, who are zealouſly and
" godly affected, may not with a good Con-
" ſcience approve them; or that the Govern-
" ment of the Church of *England* by Arch-
" biſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* is repugnant to the
" Word of God, or that the Form of conſe-
" crating and making Biſhops, Prieſts and Dea-
" cons, containeth any thing in it repugnant
" to the Word of God *, is to be excommuni-
" cated. Whoſever ſhall affirm that ſuch as
" refuſe to ſubſcribe to the Form of God's Wor-
" ſhip in the Church of *England*, may truly
" take unto them the Name of another Church
" not eſtabliſh'd by Law, and dare complain
" of Grievances; or that there are within the
" Realm other Meetings, Aſſemblies, or Con-
" gregations, than ſuch as by Law are allow'd,
" which may challenge to themſelves the Name
" of True and Lawful Churches †; or that ſhall
" affirm that any Miniſters or others may make
" Rules or Conſtitutions in Cauſes Eccleſiaſti-
" cal, without the King's Authority ||||; or ſhall
" ſubmit themſelves to be govern'd by 'em; let
" them be excommunicated, *ipſo facto*, and not
" reſtor'd, till they publickly revoke the wicked
" and anabaptiſtical Errors. According to theſe
" Canons, the Miniſter muſt admit none but
" ſuch as kneel at the Communion; none that

‖ Can. 5. ‡ Ib. 6. * Ib. 7. † Ib. 11. |||| Ib. 12.

" re-

" refuſe to be preſent at publick Prayers, upon " pain of Suſpenſion ‡: And as none muſt be " baptiz'd without the Sign of the Croſs, with " Godfathers and Godmothers; ſo no Father " ſhall be admitted to anſwer as Godfather for " his own Child, nor be urg'd to be preſent *; " nor muſt the Miniſter refuſe to baptize any " that bring Godfathers, tho' *Jews* or *Turks*, " unleſs the Children of the Excommunica- " ted †."

THESE were ſome of the Laws, which, after ſo much Deliberation, and ſo many Years Conteſts and Struggling, were reſolv'd upon, for the future Government of the Church of *England, and perfecting the Reformation:* I have nothing here to ſay to 'em, only to obſerve, That they were not made to fill up ſo many Pages in a Book, and to be ſet up in the Church as a Monument of the Wiſdom of this Convocation; but were diligently executed by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions and Court, to the almoſt utter Suppreſſion of the Puritannical Party; who ſeem'd now to have no Remedy left but Prayers and Tears. At firſt they petition'd for a Toleration, begging they might have Leave to worſhip God without Impoſitions, and reform their own Churches according to the Rule of Scripture; but it was refus'd 'em; nor could they get any Shelter ||, (ſuch was the Violence of the Times and Fury of their Enemies) but were forc'd many of 'em, with their Families, to ſeek Sanctuary in the Deſerts of *America*, and to ſee if they could get leave to breath with a good Conſcience, and ſleep in a whole Skin, among the Salvages of the other Hemiſphere.

‡ Can. 27. * Ib. 29. † Ib. 68. || *Calamy's* Defence, Part 2. *p.* 179.

In

IN the next Reign Matters remain'd much in the ſame Poſture, only carried higher when *Laud* came upon the Stage, and was fix'd in the See of *Canterbury*: By his Means the Table was ſet Altar-wiſe, rail'd in, and the Communicants were oblig'd to come up to the Rails of the Altar, and kneel: He requir'd Bowing at the Name of Jeſus ‡, and commended Bowing to the Eaſt; put down Afternoon Sermons; forbid all Weekly Lectures; preſs'd the Obſervation of Holidays; and, which was his Maſter-Piece, *the better to promote Pure and Primitive Chriſtianity*, ſecure the Reformation, *and confound the Puritans*, a Book of * Sports was ſet forth to be us'd on *Sunday*, which muſt be publiſh'd by the Miniſters in the Churches; and ſeveral o-

Laud carries Matters ſtill higher.

Book of Sports.

‡ *Vide* Conſtitutions 1640. in *Sparrow*.

* There had been a Declaration, *May* 21, 1618. giving Liberty to his loving Subjects, to uſe lawful Sports on *Sundays*, after Evening-Prayers ended, put forth by Bleſſed King *James*. One Occaſion of this was, that his Majeſty in his Progreſs thro' *Lancaſhire* had taken Notice, that ſome Puritans and preciſe People, had hinder'd the People from uſing their lawful Recreations and *honeſt Exerciſes* on *Sundays*. Two Evils his Majeſty obſerv'd this produced; obſtructing the Converſion of Papiſts, and barring the Common People from ſuch Exerciſes, as might make their Bodies more able for War. The King therefore (out of his Princely Wiſdom) requires, that the Canons of the Church be obſerv'd, and that no Recreations be forbid that ſhall not tend to the Breach of the Canons of the Church. King *Charles*, his Son and Succeſſor, walking in his Father's Steps, now takes Occaſion to renew and confirm this Declaration. This was ſent by the ſeveral Biſhops to be publiſh'd by the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſſes. Some comply'd; others abſolutely refus'd; others having read the Declaration, took Occaſion to condemn the Practice. One of theſe, after reading the King's Declaration, read the Fourth Commandment; and in Concluſion ſaid, "You have heard "what the King commands; "and what God commands; "whether 'tis fit to obey God "or Man, judge ye." However, this Contrivance, as unworthy as 'twas, notably ſerved its End; for by making the People *nothing in Religion*, it prepared 'em to be *any thing* their Governors ſhould pleaſe, and beſides, expoſed the Puritans to the further Hatred of the licentious Rabble, for their Diſlike of ſo *vile* a Government.

ther Devices he had to torture the Puritans, which he did to purpoſe; particularly in the High Commiſſion Court, till he had forc'd a great Number of 'em to * leave their native Country, and follow their Brethren to *America*.

ONE Stratagem it may be worth while to mention: He contriv'd an † Oath to be taken by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and all other Prieſts, *Never to conſent to alter the Government of this Church*, by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, *&c.* as it ſtands now eſtabliſh'd, and as by Right it ought to ſtand. And if any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhall refuſe to take the Oath, the Biſhop ſhall give him a Month's Time, after which, if he refuſe, he ſhall be ſuſpended *ab Officio* ‖; and after another Month's Deliberation, if he refuſe, he muſt be ſuſpended *ab Officio & Beneficio*; and if, after another Month's Time to conſider, he don't come to his Senſes, but remain obſtinate, he's depos'd: And to make ſure Work, all Maſters of Arts, Phyſicians, School-maſters, *&c.* were oblig'd to take it. 'Tis granted, theſe Canons were objected againſt, as of no Authority, as well as on other Accounts; tho' *Laud* boaſts of the Unanimity with which they were paſs'd ‡; adding, I dare be bold to ſay, never any Synod ſat in *Chriſtendom*, that allow'd more Freedom either of Speech or Vote. *Heylin* vindicated *** 'em with great Zeal, and tells us, that however ſome diſliked 'em, they found great Approbation from others, particularly from Juſtice *Crook*; who having read over the Book of Canons, when it firſt came out, he lifted up his Hands,

* If they could, and were not hindred by Proclamation and Violence, as often they were. † Conſtitutions, 1640. ‖ Can. 6. ‡ Compl. Hiſt. of *Engl.* Vol. 3. p. 102. ** Animadv. on *Fuller*'s Ch. Hiſt. *p.* 234.

(which

(which one would not wonder at; what follows is more ſtrange) and gave hearty Thanks to Almighty God, that he had lived to ſee ſuch good Effects of a Convocation: But this I take to be no extraordinary Compliment to former Convocations; the beſt that can be ſaid of 'em is, that they did not laſt long, tho' it ſeems they were executed at firſt; and *Fuller* ſays, to his certain Knowledge, *ſome* were made to take the * Oath that accompanied 'em upon their Knees.

WHAT has paſt ſince the Reſtoration, and during the Reign of King *Charles* the IId, I ſhan't here relate; only obſerve, that after ſome ineffectual Endeavours about accommodating Matters in the Church, Things return'd into their former Channel: No Advances are made towards perfecting the Reformation, nor any Thing granted to thoſe that had ſo long inſiſted upon it; but inſtead of that, all the Old Conformity, and Laws and Canons belonging thereto, are reviv'd; with an Addition of ſome that were *further Grievances* and *Hardſhips* upon the *Puritans*, now call'd NONCONFORMISTS; particularly 'twas requir'd of 'em, by the Act of *Uniformity*, that they declare their unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing contain'd, and preſcrib'd in and by the Book of *Common-Prayer*, &c. And in the ſame Act, they muſt declare for *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; and that 'tis not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the

Terms of Conformity yet harder after the Reſtoration.

* This Synod ſate after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, gave Subſidies, and enjoin'd Oaths; which, ſays Lord *Clarendon*, it's certain it might not do. He adds, It did many things which in the beſt of Times might have been queſtion'd, and drew the ſame Prejudice upon the whole Body of the Clergy, to which before only ſome few of the Clergy were expos'd. *Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars*, Vol. 1. Part 1. p. 148. 8vo.

King; which Declaration was by the *Oxford* Act, 1668. requir'd of 'em upon Oath; and yet about 20 Years after, the Nation thought themſelves obliged to go quite contrary thereto; and had they not done ſo, and taken up Arms againſt King *James*, and thoſe that were commiſſion'd by him, in all Probability we and our Poſterity had been Slaves, and the Cauſe of the Reformation ruin'd at a Blow. I'll only add, by the ſame Act the Perſons that had in their Day, from the very Beginning of the *Reformation*, been contending for greater Purity, *were now to be ſworn againſt any farther Reformation*; which in effect they were, when they took an Oath never to endeavour any Alteration of the Government either in Church or State. What Hardſhips and Sufferings were hereby brought upon theſe Men, is not forgot: By the firſt Act above 2000 were turn'd out of their Livings, without any Proviſion for them and their Families, tho' Care was taken of the Popiſh Clergy, that would not conform in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, and of the Epiſcopal Clergy, when outed by the Parliament, (they having a fifth Part of their Livings allow'd 'em); but theſe, as if they were Sinners above all that went before them, muſt have *no Mercy*, but are ſilenc'd with Diſgrace, and in a Senſe made to wear their Faggot; nay, are baniſh'd 5 Miles from any Corporation, or other Place where they had been Miniſters: By which Means they were deprived of the Kindneſs of their Friends, who might have been ready, in requital of the Care formerly taken of their Souls, to have taken ſome Care of their Miniſters Bodies. But 'tis time to paſs off this Subject, in which I have far exceeded my Intention. I have endeavour'd to repreſent, as concisely as I could, how the

Oxford Act.

By the *Oxford* Act.

Re-

Reformation was begun and carried on; with what Counſels and upon what Principles 'twas conducted; what Rubs it met with in its Way, and what the preſent State of it is. Two or three Deductions from hence are obvious, with which I ſhall cloſe this Head.

Nonconformity from the beginning, tho' different as to the Matter of it.

(1.) THAT there has been *ſomething* of Nonconformity, ever ſince the Beginning of the Reformation; tho' the Matter of it has been *different*, according as the State of Things in the Church has varied from Time to Time. In King *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign conſiderable Numbers loſt their Lives for Nonconformity; becauſe they would not comply with his Eſtabliſhment of Religion, and with what he thought a ſufficient Reformation (*i. e.*) with a Sort of Popery. In King *Edward*'s Time, the Popiſh Veſtments, Ceremonies, *&c.* were the main Offence: *Hooper* could ſcarce prevail with himſelf to come into the Church, and accept a Biſhoprick, *on the Account of the Habits*, which he ſcrupled. The Hiſtory of which Matter may be ſeen at large in * *Strype*. Dr. *Burnet* † ſums it up in a few Words; "He refus'd, *ſays* "*he*, to be conſecrated in the Epiſcopal Veſt-"ments (the Chimere, Rochet, Square-Cap, "*&c.*) The Grounds he went on were, That "they were humane Inventions, brought in by "Tradition or Cuſtom, not ſuitable to the "Chriſtian Religion; that all ſuch Ceremonies "were condemn'd by *Paul* as *Beggarly Elements*; "that theſe Veſtments had been invented chief-"ly for the celebrating Maſs with much Pomp, "and had been conſecrated for that End." But theſe Objections were not thought ſufficient: It was ſtill inſiſted upon, that he muſt comply or

* Memor. of *Cran.* p. 211. † Hiſt. Reform. *Part* 2. p. 152.

be excluded, and the Contention was ſo ſharp, that *Hooper* was ſuſpended, and impriſon'd in the *Fleet*. The King writes to *Cranmer* in his Behalf, moving that he may be diſpens'd with; and on the other Hand, Foreign Divines write to *Hooper*, blaming him for deſerting ſo great a Poſt of Service (at a Time when the Church ſo much needed his Help) for thoſe Scruples; whereupon he complies, having ſome Conceſſions made in his Favour, and is conſecrated.

THE chief Manager of this Controverſy againſt *Hooper*, and Stickler for the Veſtments, was *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*: But the Flames kindled in that unſeaſonable Debate, were ſoon after extinguiſh'd by thoſe of Queen *Mary*'s Reign; Whatever they were before, they now appear'd good Friends, *when bound with the ſame Chain*: Several Letters paſs'd betwixt 'em while Priſoners; in one of which *Ridley* thus expreſſes himſelf: "Your Wiſdom and my Simplicity "have formerly claſh'd, each one following the "Abundance of his own Senſe; but now he "aſſur'd him, that in the Bowels of Chriſt he "lov'd him in the Truth, and for the Truth."

SOME ſcrupled others of the Ceremonies and Rites, as, the Croſs in Baptiſm, the Uſe of Godfathers and Godmothers, and their Anſwering in the Child's Name: Kneeling at the Sacrament, *&c.* Some objected againſt the Liturgy; and therefore inſtead of it, us'd the *Francfort* Directory and Forms: Some us'd a Part of it, and omitted the reſt; and ſome, it ſeems, us'd *none at all*. * Biſhop *Bancroft* takes Notice of one Mr. *Field*, that in a Letter to Mr. *Asker*, tells him, that he preach'd every Sabbath-Day, having nothing to do at all with the former Book of Common-Prayer.

* Dangerous Poſitions, *p.* 84.

BUT

BUT that which has ever ſtuck moſt with theſe Men, is the Defects in Church-Government, and want of Diſcipline. "The old "Non-Conformiſts, (ſays * one of the latter) "thought the Frame of *Engliſh* Prelatical Go-"vernment was far worſe than all their Cere-"monies, and other Corruptions ſet together; "and that upon ſuch Accounts as theſe, that "the Largeneſs of the Dioceſſes makes Diſci-"pline impoſſible, and keeps wicked Men in "the Boſom of the Church: All the Biſhops "that ſhould be in the larger Dioceſſes are put "down, ſave one; and the Pariſh Miniſters "reſtrain'd from the Uſe of the Keys: Secular "Courts are ſet up under the Name of Eccle-"ſiaſtick; and the decretive Power of the Keys "put into the Hands of Lay-men; Paſtors "are ſet up over all the Land, without the "Conſent of the Flock, by the meer Will of "Patrons. And the ſame Author † elſewhere ſpeaking of the Exiles at *Francfort*, ſays, "One "Part of them were for Dioceſans, and the *En-*"*gliſh* Liturgy and Ceremonies, that they might "no more than needs depart from the Papiſts; "nor ſeem inconſiſtent, in departing from what "King *Edward* had begun. The other were "for *Calvin*'s Diſcipline, and Way of Worſhip; "for the ſetting up a Parochial Diſcipline inſtead "of a Dioceſan, and to have a Government in "every particular Church; and not only one "over a Thouſand or many Hundred Church-"es; and for a plain and ſerious Way of Wor-"ſhip, ſuited as near as poſſible to God's Word. And this has all along (together with Subſcri-ption) been the chief Matter of Non-Conformity: This kept ſome of the old Puritans out of the Church, and made others of them uneaſy

† Mr. *Baxter's Engl.* Nonconformity, p. 133. * Life, p. 32.

in it. They pleaded ſtrongly for the reſtoring of Diſcipline, on which Account they were called *Diſciplinarians:* And when they could not be heard, ſome of them endeavoured in a private Way, to mend Matters among themſelves, (tho' this was generally ſo offenſive to the Government, as to bring them under Suffering.) To which Purpoſe in ſome Places, a Number of them would, by voluntary Agreement, reſolve upon certain Heads of Diſcipline to be obſerved in their Churches; thus at *Wandſworth* in *Surrey*, ſeveral enter'd into a Sort of Combination. *Fuller* * calls it, *a Presbytery*, and ſays, "It was the firſt-born of all the Presby-"teries in *England*, and that 11 Elders were "choſen, their Offices and general Rules "agreed upon, and deſcrib'd. Others ſay, the meaning of it was no more than this, "That "† the Queen and Biſhops Orders extending "no farther for the Trial and Fitneſs of Com-"municants, than if they could ſay the Creed, "Lord's Prayer, and ten Commandments; ſome "Miniſters agreed upon a ſtricter Examination, "and the People made choice of ten or eleven "Perſons to be preſent at that Action. Several up and down the Kingdom attempted ſomething of the ſame Kind; and particularly inſiſted upon the excluding the Ignorant and Prophane from the Lord's Table; which has been the unchangeable Principle of the Puritans or Non-Conformiſts; and it ſeems was entering at the very beginning of the Reformation; as appears from the Eccleſiaſtical Laws compiled by King *Edward*'s Commiſſioners; one of which is, ‖ "That they will have none admitted to

* Ch. Hiſt. Lib. 9. p. 103.
† Hiſt. Conformity, p. 10.
‖ Neminem ad menſam Dominī volumus admitti, donec fidem in Eccleſia profeſſus fuerit. Tit. de Sacramentis, cap. 5.

"the

" the Table, till he make Profeſſion of his " Faith in the Church.

IN ſhort, tho' all the Non-Conformiſts agreed in this, *That the Reformation was imperfect*; and that they ought to have gone further; yet *then and ever ſince*, they have had a different Latitude: I know not well how to repreſent this better, than in the Words of *Beza* to *Grindal*; he ſays, " There was a twofold Opinion con- " cerning the Reformation of the Church. Firſt, " of ſome that thought nothing ought to be ad- " ded to the *Apoſtolical Simplicity*; and whatſo- " ever the Church that ſucceeded the Apoſtles " added to the firſt Rites, was to be aboliſhed " at once. On the other Side, there were ſome " that were of Opinion, that certain ancient " Rites beſides ought to be retained; partly as " profitable and neceſſary; partly if not neceſ- " ſary, yet to be tolerated for Concord ſake; " but for himſelf, he declares he was of Opi- " nion with the former *. Now as the Re- formers acted upon theſe different Principles, ſo they have had ſome Influence upon the Non-Conformiſts; one Sort rejecting every Thing, that is *beſides the Rule*, and that they thought a *humane Addition*; another Sort being willing for Peace Sake to ſubmit to ſuch humane Regulations, as are not downright ſinful, and do not ſtand out ſo much upon Matter of Ceremony (tho' † they would be glad to have their Liberty here, and are againſt Impoſitions) as on other Accounts.

(2.) 'TIS plain, tho' the Practice of thoſe now Non-Conformiſts has varied in the ſeveral Ages they lived in; ſometimes you find them

Non-Conformiſts have acted upon the ſame Principles, tho' ſometimes in the *Church* and ſometimes out of it,

* *Strype*'s Life of *Grindal*, p. 9.
† Hiſtory of Conform. p. 113.

in

in the Church, and ſometimes out of it, *Yet they have ſtill been true to their great Principle:* Few or none ſeparated in King *Edward*'s Time, and but few in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. Biſhop *Bancroft* indeed in his Dangerous Poſitions, ſays, that in the firſt ten or eleven Years of the Queen's Reign, *many* of the People ſeparated, meeting in Woods and Fields; but they could not be many comparatively; nor does it appear they had any Miniſters of Account to head them. Thoſe taken at *Plummers-Hall*, ſeem to be among the firſt that met in any conſiderable Numbers: *Strype* * tells us, "They wholly rejected the Book of Common-"Prayer, and us'd a Book of Prayers formed "at *Geneva*, for the *Engliſh* Exiles there: At "thoſe Meetings they had not only Prayers "and Sermons, but ſometimes the Lord's Sup-"per adminiſtered, which gave great Offence. But ordinarily they did not ſeparate, not being obliged to declare their Approbation of the Forms and Ceremonies, and being diſpens'd with ſometimes as to the Uſe of them; but at length when new Laws were made, and Subſcriptions were enjoined, their Caſe was viſibly altered, and ſo was their Conduct; this drove Multitudes out of the Church, and has kept them out of it until this Day.

The old Puritans muſt have been *Non-Conformiſts* in our Day

(3.) I THINK it evident that the old Puritans *that ſtood for a farther Reformation*, and yet did not withdraw from the eſtabliſhed Church, would have been *forced* to have done it upon their own Principles, *had they lived in our Times*; for *Firſt*, It appears from the former Hiſtory, that they had much ado to go the Length they did, and comply with the Terms of Communion

* *Strype*'s Life of *Grindal*, p. 114.

then

then enjoined; they thought the Forms of Worſhip and Plan of Government *but juſt tolerable*, and ſubmitted to it only to avoid greater Inconveniencies. *Secondly*, They were excuſed from a great deal ſince required. The Act of Uniformity, I dare ſay, would have ſilenced the whole Body of them, unleſs they had renounced the Principles they had ſo often and ſo publickly avowed. What would *John Fox*, for Inſtance and ſuch as he, have ſaid to the Declarations and Oaths that have been ſince impoſed, who roundly told them, he would ſubſcribe to nothing but the New Teſtament in *Greek*? *Thirdly*, They ſtill lived in Hopes of having Things mended, and the Reformation carried on; and it was upon this View and Proſpect that many of them kept in the Church, ſtill bearing Teſtimony againſt Corruptions, endeavouring in their Place to ſet in Order the Things that were wanting. 'Tis certain, theſe could never have ſwallowed the *Oxford* Oath; that obliged them *never to endeavour any Alteration* in the Government of the Church, *i. e.* to have reformed any more. 'Tis harſh, methinks to ſay, the Oath only intended never to endeavour *unlawfully* (for nothing may be ſo endeavoured) and implies a Jeſuitical Equivocation, by which a Man may ſwear to any Thing in the World: So that theſe Things conſidered, I think it needs no further Proof, that the ſame Principles which kept the *Old Puritans* in the Church, *would have kept moſt of their Succeſſors there*; and that the Impoſitions that have excluded the latter, would have excluded them alſo, had they been tried with them.

ONCE more, (4.) 'Tis eaſy to collect from the foregoing brief Account of Matters, what the chief Defects of the Reformation are in the

The Defects of the Reformation.

the Judgment of these Men; and what they have stood out upon, and been contending for all along. They *would not have the Worship of God burthened with Ceremonies, that are Popish or Pagan in their Original; or if any will retain some of them as indifferent Things; they desire they may be left indifferent, and not made necessary by a rigorous Imposition. They would have the Holy Scripture not only declared to be the only Rule of Faith, Worship and Practice, but used as such; and that no Laws should be made to exclude Men out of this or that Church here on Earth, who are manifestly according to Christ's Gospel qualified for Heaven, and willing to submit to any necessary Rules for Church-Communion. They would have Episcopacy, so much extended by Papal Pride and Usurpation, reduced within the Bounds of Christ's Institution; and that those who bear Rule over People should speak to them the Word of the Lord. Or if Superior Officers be allowed with a larger Jurisdiction, and distinguished Titles, superintending several Churches; these should not deprive the Pastors of every Church of any Power that Christ hath intrusted them with, or that's necessary to the due Execution of their Office, nor be owned of divine Right; Bishop and Presbyter not being two Officers, but two Names for one and the same Officer, as was the common Opinion at the Reformation* *. They join

* *The Institution of a Christian Man*, set forth in King *Henry* VIIIths Time, by Authority of King and Parliament, and compiled by a Synod of the Clergy, expressly says, "*In novo Testamento nulla mentio facta est aliorum Graduum aut distinctionum in Ordinibus, sed Diaconorum (vel Ministrorum) & Presbyterorum, sive Episcoporum*, i. e. That we have no mention in the New Testament of any other Degrees or different Orders, than Deacons and Presbyters, or Bishops. And we find about this Time, several of the Bishops employ'd in the Reformation under that Prince, declaring the same Sentiments. Thus *Cranmer* to the Question, Whether Bishops and Priests were first, answers, "The Bishops

Bishop and Presbyter own'd to be the same at the Beginning of the Reformation.

joyn with the Brethren in their Acknowledgment they make every Ash-Wednesday, *that there was a certain Godly Discipline in the primitive Church; and heartily desire with them that it might be restored; and that Offenders against the Laws of Christ, and the sacred Rules of the Gospel, may be dealt with in particular Churches by solemn Admonition and Reproof, &c. and not be suffered to commute*

"Bishops and Priests were "at one Time, and were not "two Things in the Begin-"ning of Christ's Religion; (*Burnet*'s Hist. Part 1. Collect. pag. 223.) with whom concurred others of the Bishops, as is plainly imply'd in their Answers to the same Question, Ibid. pag. 293. Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Irenicon*, having given from the Original M. S. an Account of *Cranmer*'s Judgment touching this and sundry other Questions propos'd, concludes with this Remark; "Thus we see by the Testi-"mony of him who was chief-"ly instrumental in our Re-"formation, that he own'd "not Episcopacy as a distinct "Order from Presbytery, of "Divine Right, only as a "prudent Constitution of the "Civil Magistrate for the bet-"ter Governing the Church. And that this was not the Peculiar Notion of *Cranmer*, and his Brethren at that Time, might easily be shown. *Cressey* after he turn'd Papist, gives this Reason why Episcopacy took no firm Rooting in the Consciences of *English* Subjects, before *Laud*'s Time: "Because says he, the Suc-"cession and Authority of "Bishops, and other Eccles-"astical Orders *receiv'd from* "*the* Roman *Church*, was *never* "confidently and generally "taught in *England* to be of "Divine Right. Dr. *John Raynolds* in his Answer to Sir *Francis Knolls*, who desir'd his Opinion touching the Difference between Bishops and Presbyters, tells him, that they who for these 500 Years have been industrious in Reforming the Church, have thought that *all Pastors*, whether call'd Bishops or Presbyters, have according to the Word of God, *like Power and Authority*: He instances in the *Waldenses*, *Marsilius*, *Petavius*, *Wickliff* and his Disciples, *Huss* and the *Hussites*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Berentius*, *Bullinger* and *Musculus*, and many Bishops among us, as *Jewel* and *Pilkington*, and many Professors in our Academies, as Dr. *Humphreys*, and Dr. *Whittaker*, and other learned Men, as *Bradford*, *Lambert*, and others, of whom *Fox* speaks in his Acts and Monuments; and he afterwards avers it to be the common Opinion of the reformed Churches in *Switzerland*, *Savoy*, *France*, *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, *Hungary* and *Poland*. *Vide Dr.* Calamy's *Defence*, Part 1. p. 88. I don't mention these Things as the Reasons of the Persons I am now speaking of, why they plead for Identity of Bishops and Presbyters; only to show how the Matter was apprehended at that Time; and the Nonconformists have often given their Reasons why they concur in the same Apprehensions with the first Reformers.

and

and buy off the Cenſure with a little Money. They would have every Thing managed in the Church according to the three great Apoſtolical Canons.

1 Cor. 14. 40 *Let all Things be done decently and in Order,*
1 Cor. 14. 26 *Let all Things be done to Edifying,*
1 Cor. 16. 14 *Let all Things be done with Charity.*

And whatever Canons of Men made on Pretence of ſerving the firſt of theſe, ruin the latter; they eſteem of no Authority and would reject: In a Word, as the Church, when it firſt had the Protection and Countenance of civil Governors, was very much changed in the external Form and Polity of it, in Compliance with the Model of the Empire (as was hinted before,) they deſire that in the Reformation of it they may not ſtop there, but bring it back again to Times of greater Simplicity and Purity. This in general is what they have been long pleading and praying for. In the mean Time (to conclude with the Words of a very worthy Author *.) "They "deſire to adhere firmly to the Doctrine of the "Apoſtles, and continue in their Fellowſhip "in Sacraments and Prayers ſuitable to the "Rules laid down by them; contending earneſtly for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, "improving all the Advantages they have, and "bearing with all the Defects they labour under; uſing their beſt Endeavours to have them "redreſſed; yet ſtill keeping the Unity of the "Spirit in the Bond of Peace, waiting for ſuch "a glorious Juncture, as may reſtore every "Thing amongſt us to a primitive Purity and "Splendor, which God may perhaps grant to "the Prayers of thoſe that call upon him Day "and Night for it."

* Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſt. Reformation, Part 3d. p. 331.

CHAP.

CHAP IV.

Plots againſt the Reformation. Popiſh Principles *leading to the Deſtruction of* Proteſtants. *Pope's Bull of Excommunication againſt King* Henry VIIIth. *and Queen* Elizabeth. *Plots in* Henry VIIIth's *Reign. Plots in King* Edward VIth's *Time. The Demands of the Plotters in Behalf of Popery. The Perſecution under Queen* Mary. *The Plots in Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign. The* Spaniſh *Armado.*

BUT now I proceed to the principal Branch of my Undertaking, which is to give ſome Account of the *Attempts againſt the Reformation*, the Plots and Conſpiracies of our Enemies to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion ever ſince its happy Eſtabliſhment in this Iſland; and of the many Deliverances and Salvations which God hath wrought for us.

I MUST cut this Work as ſhort as conveniently I can, and therefore ſhall but touch upon ſome Facts that are moſt material, and direct to my Purpoſe, not pretending to a full Hiſtory; and the better to introduce the Account I am to give, I ſhall premiſe three or four Things chiefly concerning the Papiſts, who have been the Principal, tho' not the only Plotters. 1. That according to the Doctrine and Principles of *Rome*, the Pope as Head of the Church and

Popiſh Principles lead to Plotting againſt and murthering Proteſtants.

and Vicar of Chriſt, *is ſupream Lord and univerſal Sovereign of all the Empires in the World*; under whom the ſeveral Princes thereof hold their Crowns, on whom they depend for their Titles, and to whom they are accountable for their Adminiſtration; juſt as if what the Devil offered Chriſt in his Temptation had been made good to his pretended Vicar, *That if he would fall down and worſhip him, he would give him all the Kingdoms of the World and the Glory of 'em.* * *Zanchez* ſpeaks home, when he ſaith that by natural, moral and divine Law, we muſt believe that the Pope hath the immediate and only Rule of the whole World in Temporals as well as Spirituals; all Imperial Authority depending ſo much upon him, that it is alterable, puniſhable or null as he ſhall command; and this is what their Popes have actually claimed: Witneſs *Hildebrand*, that depoſed the Emperor *Henry* IV. *by the Authority*, as he ſays, *given him by God, of binding and looſing, both in Heaven and Earth.* In one of his Bulls againſt him †, he implores the Aſſiſtance of *Peter* and *Paul* in his Excommunication and Depoſition of the Emperor; adding, "That "the World may know that as they have Pow"er to bind and looſe in Heaven, ſo they have "Power on Earth to take away Empires, King"doms, Principalities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, "and the Poſſeſſions of all Men."

AND it ſeems thry pretend to ſuch Abſoluteneſs of Sovereignty, that when they have a Mind to deprive any Princes of their Dominions, *ex mero Motu*, purely becauſe they will; and none may ſay to them what doſt thou, or why doſt thou ſo; let *Bozius* be our Voucher for this; Altho' ſays he, the King be lawful ‖,

* Foulis's Pop. Treaſons, p. 38. † *Bullarium* Rom. Anno 1638. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 49. ‖ *Foulis Ibid. p.* 38.

and

and not only so but understanding, careful, powerful, one of the Pope's Religion, and godly too; yet can the Pope take his Empire or Kingdoms from him, and give it to another, *altho' there be no Necessity for so doing*; it being enough that he think it only convenient, nay it seems the Pope's Right is *inalienable*; he has neither derived his Sovereignty from another, nor can he give away any Part of it; and by special Favour place Temporal Kings in a State of Independency upon himself: To this Purpose is that of *Augustinus Triumphus*, who in a Book he wrote at the Command of Pope *John* 21 (or 22) says, that * if we meet with any Emperors, to have given any Temporal Privileges or Lands to any Popes, (as *Constantine* to *Sylvester*) we must here understand that they did *not at all give what was their own to give*, but only *restore* that which had formerly been taken from them by *Tyranny and Injustice*; or if we read of any Popes to have given any such temporal Benefits, we must suppose that it was done more *for Peace sake*, than really to give to others a true Title to them; the Reason of both these is, that the Pope is *Jure Divino* without any Grant from Men *Lord of all*; and this Right is so full and absolute as Christ's Representative, that he cannot transfer it to another, but all must necessarily remain his Subjects.

2. IT is an avowed Principle of the Romanists, *that Princes by Heresy*, or Apostasy from the Holy Catholick Church, meaning the *Roman* Church, *forfeit all Right and Title to their Crowns*, and may be deposed whenever his Holiness pleases. There are indeed sundry Causes of Deprivation; as Dulness of Capacity †, the dimi-

* Foulis's Popish Treasons, *p.* 27. † V.d. Pet. Molinæus de Monar. temporal. Pontif. Rom. *p.* 100.

niſhing the Privileges of the Church, Tyranny, or any other Perſonal Fault, which the Pope thinks renders Princes unfit for Government. Thus *Gregory* III. depoſed *Childerick* King of *France*, abſolved his Subjects from their Oath of *Allegiance*; not ſo much for his Iniquities, as becauſe he was *unprofitable* ſays *Gratian*; not for Inſufficiency, ſays the *Gloſs*, but becauſe he was diſſolute and effeminate.

BUT the *main Cauſe* is *Hereſy*. "Princes "ſays *Bellarmine**, are received into the Church "with an Expreſs or *Tacit* Compact, that they "ſhall ſubmit their Scepters unto Chriſt; defend "and preſerve the Faith under the Penalty of "forfeiting their Crowns; therefore if once "they fall into Hereſy, or turn Enemies to "Religion, *they may be judged by the Church*, and "depoſed without any Injury to them." And *Vaſquez* determines to the ſame Purpoſe, "That "'tis in the Pope's Power to puniſh Princes †, "and that the Crime of Hereſy is of ſuch Force "that no Hereticks are capable of Rule; ſo that "the Kingdom muſt chooſe ſome Body elſe, "*viz.* him whom the Pope may aſſign; and if "they refuſe, he may bring him in by Force "of Arms." *Raymund* carries the Matter ſomewhat further; he ſays, "A Prince may "be excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope, "not only for Hereſy, *but if he be negligent to* "*extirpate Hereſy*, which is but agreeable to the Decree of the *Lateran Council*, which they call general, mentioned before. Indeed Hereſy according to them, deprives Sovereigns and Subjects too of their Rights, Claims, Enjoyments, and leaves thoſe that are charged with it to the Mercy of Catholicks; who by divine Right become Lords over them and all they enjoy; ſo ſays

* De Roman. Pontif. l. 5. cap. 7 † *Fuller's* Pop. Treaſ. p. 39.

the

the famous *Lateran Council*; "The Goods of "Hereticks are *ipso facto*, and immediately "confiscated; they have no further Right to "them, nor can they with a good Conscience "retain them."

3. As *Hereticks* are by Law and Right deprived of all they have, the Pope can *authorize the Orthodox Members* of the Church, *i. e.* his own Subjects *to take Possession*; and whatever means are necessary thereunto, *he can Legitimate* and make Lawful; as poisoning, assasinating, blowing up with Gunpowder, *&c.* 'Tis an approved Thing among them, a Case deliberately determined by the infallible Head of the Church, that killing of Kings and Queens Excommunicated by the Pope is no Murder *, nay that 'tis meritorious to destroy Hereticks; which was the Argument *Walpole* the *English* Jesuit used with *Squire* to persuade him to kill Queen *Elizabeth*; which he told him might easily be done by poisoning the Pomel of her Saddle; *Squire* is drawn to undertake the Fact; the Jesuit † blesses him, and promises him Eternal Salvation;

* Vid. *Bullum* Greg. XIII. 1st of *July* 1580.

† As they encourage the Murder of such Princes as they call *Hereticks*, so they have a solemn Form of preparing an Assassin for his Undertaking; which, tho' somewhat long, I shall be excused if I here insert. The Person designed for the Work is secretly introduced into the Meditory or Oratory: There a Knife wrapped up in Linnen is taken out of an Ivory Case, marked all round with various Characters, together with an *Agnus Dei*. Upon this, as it is drawn out of the Sheath, they drop Holy Water, and hang Consecrated Coral Beads upon the Haft, granting an Indulgence of delivering as many Souls out of Purgatory, as he shall give Wounds to the Prince whom they design to Assassin: Then they put the Knife into the Hand of the *Parricide*, recommending it in these Words, *Elect Son of God, take this Sword of* Jephthah, *the Sword of* Sampson, *the Sword of* David, *with which he cut off* Goliah's *Head*; *the Sword of* Gideon, *the Sword of* Judith, *the Sword of the* Maccabees, *the Sword of the Pope, by which he has delivered himself from the Hands of Princes, having*

Salvation; and ſo having ſworn him to Secrecy, ſends him to *England*, where he was taken, confeſſed his villanous Deſign, and was executed in the Year 1598. *Cambden** that relates this Paſſage further adds, that a Peſtilent Opinion was got among the Papiſts, that to take away Kings Excommunicate, was nothing elſe but to weed the Cockle out of the Lord's Field: And the ſame Conſideration was laid before *Parry* another Tool engaged in the like Enterprize, *viz.*

ſpilt very much Blood in their Dominions; Go and be prudently courageous, may God ſtrengthen thy Arm. This being done, they all fall down upon their Knees, and the Chief of them pronounces this Exorciſm: *Be preſent ye Cherubim; be preſent Seraphim, ye Thrones, ye Powers; be preſent ye holy Angels, and fill this bleſſed Veſſel with perpetual Glory, and every Day offer him the Crown of the bleſſed* Virgin Mary, *of the Holy Patriarchs and Martyrs; He is no longer a Member of our Communion, but yours; And thou, O God, who art terrible and invincible, and who in the Meditory haſt put it into his Heart to deſtroy a Tyrant and Heretick, and confer his Crown on a Catholick King, ſtrengthen we beſeech thee, his Hands, and encreaſe his Courage, that he may accompliſh his Will; give him an omnipotent Mail whereby he may eſcape the Hands of thoſe who would apprehend him; give him Wings, by which his holy Members may eſcape the Endeavours of barbarous Betrayers, pour into his Soul thy chearing Rays, by which his Body, without Fear, in the midſt of Dangers and Tortures, may be animated with Joy and Exultation. After this Exorciſm, the Parricide is brought before the Altar, over which is painted the Hiſtory of* Jaques Clement, *a* Dommican *Monk, with the Images of Angels protecting him, and carrying him to Heaven.* This the Jeſuits ſhew him, and withal, preſent him an Heavenly Crown, ſaying, *Regard, O Lord, this thine Arm, and the Executor of thy Juſtice; Let all thy Saints ariſe and give him Place*: After theſe Ceremonies four Jeſuits are deputed to talk with the *Parricide* alone; theſe during their Diſcourſe, are wont often to ſay, that there appears in him a Divine ſort of Brightneſs, by the Radiancy of which they are moved to kiſs his Hands and Feet: and that he no longer ſeems to them to be a Man, but a heavenly Saint; they pretend alſo to envy the great Glory and Bleſſedneſs to which he is now advanced, ſighing, and ſaying, *Would to God I had been choſen in thy Room, that being delivered from the Puniſhment of Purgatory, I might have gone directly to Paradice:* But if he whom they judge proper to to perpetrate the Murder be backwards and Reluctant, then they either force him to make ſuch a Vow by nightly Bugbears, and monſtrous Spectres; or animate and introduce him to the Enterprize, by contriving Apparitions of the *Virgin Mary*, or Angels, or other Saints, and ſometimes of *Ignatius* and his Followers.

* Hiſt. of Q. *Elizabth* to

to kill the Queen. He receives a Letter from Cardinal *Como*, in which he tells him, *That his* Holineſs *commended his good Reſolution and Diſpoſition that he had towards the common Good, exhorts him to perſevere and bring to Effect what he had promiſed; and that he might be the more aſſiſted* by the good Spirit which had moved him thereunto; *his* Holineſs *granted unto him his Bleſſing, plenary Indulgence and Remiſſion of all Sin; aſſuring him that beſides the Merit he ſhould receive in Heaven for ſo doing, his* Holineſs *will make himſelf Debtor to him on Earth, &c.* What Influence this had upon the Wretch, we may learn from his own Confeſſion; *The Enterprize*, ſays he, * *commended and allowed, and myſelf abſolved in his* Holineſs's *Name of all my Sins, and willed to go forward in the Name of God, it confirmed my Reſolution to kill her, and made it* † *clear in my Conſcience, that it was lawful and meritorious.*

NOR is the rankeſt Diſſimulation, Lying, Treachery, or Forgery deem'd a Sin, if it tend

* *Foulis's* Pop. Trea. *p.* 339, 340.

† Such is the Deluſion of theſe Mens Conſciences, that they believe cheating and murdering Proteſtants *meritorious*, or rather that to deprive them of Goods and Life, is not Cheating and Murder; many of the *Iriſh* Cut-Throats were encouraged by the ſame Conſideration that influenced *Parry*. The Prieſts gave ſome of them the Sacrament upon Condition they ſhould neither ſpare Man, Woman, nor Child of the Proteſtants; and the Day before the Maſſacre began, it is ſaid, the Prieſts diſmiſſed the People from Maſs, with Power and Exhortation too, given to go forth, ſtrip, ſpoil, &c. their Proteſtant Neighbours, being aſſured it was *no more Sin to kill a Proteſtant than a Dog*; Nay, to kill ſuch was meritorious, and a rare Preſervative againſt the Pains of Purgatory, which did not a little enliven the cruel Zeal of the Murderers; ſome of them were heard to ſay after they had been buſy in ſlaughtering *Heretics*, *That they knew if they ſhould die preſently they ſhould go ſtraight to Heaven*: Some prevailed with the Proteſtants that hid their beſt Goods, to diſcover them to them, promiſing their Protection, and when they had done, ſeized the Goods and murdered the Perſons; and all this they can do, *plaudente conſcientia*, expecting after ſo much Villany in this World, a Reward in the next.

to the Service of the Church; witneſs the *Paris* Maſſacre, a Thing infamous to the laſt Degree with all but Men of thoſe Principles; where many Thouſands of the *Hugonets* being invited to the King of *Navarre*'s Marriage, were, in the midſt of Careſſes, and all imaginable Aſſurances of Friendſhip, barbarouſly murder'd by the *French* King's expreſs Order. Here fell the Great *Coligni* Admiral of *France*, butcher'd by the baſeſt Ruffians; who having rudely inſulted his naked Body, cut off his Head, and ſent it as a Preſent to *Rome*, where it was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy. The Meſſenger that brought the firſt News of the monſtrous Fact, had the Reward given him of 1000 Crowns; the Letter was read in the *Conclave*; their Churches reſounded with *Te Deum*; the Cannons diſcharg'd; Bonefires made; a Jubilee publiſh'd throughout all *Chriſtendom*; a Grand Proceſſion was undertaken to the Church of St. *Lewis* *, where was the Nobility, Biſhops, Cardinals, ſeveral Embaſſadors; the Pope himſelf under a Canopy, his Train being held up by the Emperor's Embaſſador; and, the better to retain in Memory this glorious Fact, the Pope had it painted about his great Hall in the *Lateran*, and there recorded in Marble.

So that we ſee the Latitude of Holy Church in theſe Matters, and upon what Terms Proteſtants ſtand with them. The Service of the Church is their Supream Law; *The Church, the Church*, is the Word; which, like the Philoſophers Stone, turns all into Gold it touches; It can change the Nature of Things; and make an Action, that in the Judgment of all the reſt of the World deſerves a Halter, merit a Cano-

* *Fenlis's* Pop. Trea. *p.* 324.

nization,

nization, a Title to greater Honours here on Earth, and a brighter Crown in Heaven: The good End they have ſanctifies the Means; and what the Apoſtle rejects with Abhorrence as a Slander upon them, that they ſhould ſay, *Let us do Evil that Good may come of it*, theſe Men eaſily admit. The deſtroying Hereticks and promoting the Catholick Cauſe, will juſtify any thing, tho' of the blackeſt Nature; eſpecially if it gain the Pope's Approbation and Bleſſing.

I MIGHT take Notice of the ſtrange Boldneſs with which they ſometimes act in their Zeal for Holy Church, and againſt thoſe they call Hereticks: They'll face the moſt terrible Death, and chearfully ſacrifice themſelves to advance their Cauſe. Inſtances of this Kind are common: The late Biſhop of *Sarum* tells us †, the Primate of *Ireland*, *Goodacre*, that was concern'd in the Reformation there, was poiſon'd by a Monk (in a Popiſh Houſe where he was invited) that drank to him in a poiſon'd Liquor, of which they both died. My Author ſays, he had this from a worthy Clergyman not far from *Salisbury* of that Family, being the Fourth in Deſcent from the Primate.

4. THESE being the Principles of that horrid Faction of Men that call themſelves the *Holy Catholick Church*; they having ſet one at the Head of them, with a Fulneſs of Power over all the World; and having Diſputed Hereticks (*i. e.* all the Chriſtians on Earth that refuſe to ſubmit to their Uſurpations) out of all Poſſeſſions, and depriv'd them of all Rights: The pretended Head of the Church, and Lord of the World, has often, agreeable to ſuch Principles, exerted himſelf, thunder'd out Anathe-

† Hiſt. Refor. *Part* 3. *p.* 260.

ma's and Curſes againſt Princes, and conſign'd their Kingdoms to utter Deſtruction: He has particularly done it towards us in theſe Kingdoms once and again; and that the Curſe is not come, is neither owing to their Mercy nor our Merit; but purely to the kind Providence of God, that has been a Shield for us, and a Refuge from the Storm.

The Pope excommunicates Henry VIII.

No ſooner did King *Henry* the VIIIth break with the *Pope*, and begin to encourage Hereſy; but, after Admonition, the Pope (*Paul* III.) excommunicates, curſes, depoſes, damns him in a Bull publiſh'd at *Rome* in the Year 1535. (or threatned then, and executed three Years after.) It will take up too much Room, or I ſhould for the Sake of ſome Readers, have tranſlated it and given it at large. It begins with laying the Foundation of his high and mighty Power in that of the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *Behold I have ſet thee over Nations and Kingdoms, to pull up and to deſtroy, to build and to plant* *; and then he proceeds to relate the King's Treſpaſs, and the Occaſion he had to chaſtiſe him, upon which he pronounces a Sentence, ſtrips him of his Crown, frees his Subjects from their Allegiance, commands him to abrogate the Laws made againſt his Supremacy, and to appear before him at *Rome* within 90 Days, and his Adherents and Favourers; and in caſe they refus'd, he ratifies the Excommunication, deprives him of his Kingdom and Dominions, forbids him or any that adher'd to him to have Chriſtian Burial, if they died without Abſolution, and declares them *eternally damn'd*. After this, he goes on to interdict the whole Nation; inhibiting all publick Prayers and divine Offices, deprives the Children of the King born or to

* Jer. i. 10.

be

be born of Queen *Anne*, and all the Children of his Adherents and their Posterity, of all Rights and Privileges, and Goods moveable and immoveable, declares 'em depriv'd of all Dignities, Offices, Honours, Rights, Fees, *&c.* and this he does knowingly, and by the *Plenitude* of his Power: Pronounces the King and his Adherents, with their Descendants, to be infamous Persons; disable to be Witnesses to make any Will or Testament, or to receive any Legacy by the Testament of another, forbids all to have Conversation or Commerce with them on Pain of Excommunication; and commands all Christian Princes no way to favour the King or his Adherents, and nulls all Compacts or Treaties made, or to be made with the King; gives Authority to all Christian Princes to turn their Arms against the King and his Adherents, and compel them to return to the Unity of the Church; and whoever acknowledges *Henry* the VIIIth to be King, or any ways obeys him, and will not expel him out of the Kingdom, all their Goods, *&c.* are to be seiz'd on, possess'd and kept by any that can get them; and he gives them full Power to enjoy any such plunder'd Goods of the King, or any of his Subjects, as in their own Right and Propriety; and whoever take any Inhabitants in *England*, who obey the King and disobey the Pope, they are to be Slaves to those that take them.

AND the like Freedom Pope *Pius*, another Servant of the Servants of God, us'd towards Queen *Elizabeth*. He publishes his Bull against her in the Year 1570. having assum'd to himself an absolute Power over the whole Church on Earth, and declar'd himself Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, and Guardian of the

Pope's Bull against Q. Elizabeth.

Unity

Unity of the Church, he thunders out his Curſes againſt Offenders, and amongſt others againſt *Elizabeth*, whom he calls the *pretended* Queen of *England*, and a Slave of Wickedneſs; She having, as he ſays, ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and monſtrouſly uſurp'd the Place of Supreme Head of the Church in all *England*; and having by ſtrong Hand forbid the Exerciſe of the true Religion, which *Mary*, lawful Queen of famous Memory, had by the Help of this See reſtor'd; having fill'd the Church with *Hereticks*, aboliſh'd the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and the Catholick Rites and Ceremonies, *&c.* forbid the Prelates and Clergy to acknowledge the Church of *Rome*, and compell'd them to condeſcend to her wicked Laws: She having done all this, and being incorrigible, his Holineſs can no longer bear with her, but pronounceth her depriv'd of her pretended Title, all her Dignities and Privileges whatſoever; abſolves her Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, and forbids them to obey her Laws, upon Penalty of the like Anathema, *&c.*

AND thus the Foundation of Miſchief was laid, and the Way prepar'd for all the Tragedies that afterwards enſued, or were endeavour'd by them. They henceforth look upon us as a People accurſed, and have been from Age to Age, watching every Opportunity to accompliſh our Ruin: A brief Account of their ſeveral Plots I am now to ſubjoin.

Plots in K. *Henry*'s Reign.

DURING the Remainder of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign, after he fell out with the Pope (tho' 'tis known the Papiſts were in great Favour with him, his Clergy being chiefly Papiſts, and the Religion profeſs'd here in the main Popery, yet) ſeveral ſhew'd themſelves uneaſy on the Account of Innovations; and ſince the Pope had curs'd the King, and depos'd him, they with-

withdraw their Allegiance, and endeavour to execute the Curſe, and accordingly take up Arms againſt him. The firſt Trouble he met with was from the *Lincolnſhire* Men, who got together in a Body, being headed by one Dr. *Mackrel*, Prior of *Barlings* in the ſaid County; but calling himſelf Captain *Coblet*. They repreſent their Grievances to the King by way of Supplication; and among other Things, take Notice of the Suppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes; That his Grace had ill Counſellors, and Men of mean Birth about him (mentioning *Cromwel* in particular) that divers Biſhops had ſubverted the Faith, and that they fear'd that the Jewels and Plate of their Pariſh-Churches ſhould be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious Houſes; for Reformation of which, they humbly deſire his Gracious Majeſty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to ſee ſuch Orders and Directions concerning the Premiſſes given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governor and Supreme Head of the Church of *England* *, &c. But this Diſturbance was ſoon over, the Duke of *Suffolk* being ſent againſt them, they drop their Demands, and diſperſe themſelves.

THE Conſpiracy in *Yorkſhire*, and other Northern Countries, which was this Year, (1536.) was more Threatning. "† About forty thouſand "were concern'd in this Inſurrection: They were "form'd into a compleat Army, not wanting "a Train of Artillery: They call'd their March "the *Holy and Bleſſed Pilgrimage*, and the *Pil-* "*grimage of Grace*. On the one Side of their "Banner was painted Chriſt hanging on the "Croſs, on the other a Chalice with a Wafer

* Lord *Herbert* in his Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. 2. p. 205.
† *Foulis*'s Pop. Treaſons, *p.* 316.

in

"in it; the Soldiers upon their Sleeves had re-
"preſented the five Wounds of Chriſt."

MANY riſe at the ſame Time in other Places, as *Richmond*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, *Durham*, &c. And ſuch was their Strength, that they not only take upon them to reſtore Monaſteries, but even force the Archbiſhop of *York* and Lord *Darey* to take their Oath, which was, "That "they ſhould enter into this *Pilgrimage of Grace* "for the Love of God, the Preſervation of the "King's Perſon and Iſſue, *&c.* to put away all "Fears, and take afore them the Croſs of Chriſt, "his Faith, and the Reſtitution of the Church, "the Suppreſſion of Hereticks, and their Opi-"nions." But this alſo prov'd a vain and weak Attempt, and was eaſily baffled; ſeveral of the Ringleaders of it being impriſon'd, and ſome executed.

THAT which I look upon of greater Conſequence, and that was the moſt threatning of any thing that fell out in this Reign, was the Conſpiracies againſt the Life of *Cranmer*, which had they ſucceeded in, they had nipt the Reformation in the Bud; but God graciouſly preſerved him to be a happy Inſtrument in his own Work; who, after a great deal of Service done to the Truth of Chriſt, bore Teſtimony to it at laſt with his Blood.

Plots in K. *Edward's* Reign.

AS the Reformation proſper'd better under King *Edward*, ſo its Enemies were more enraged; they loſt more, and thought they had more reaſon to complain. One of the firſt Things that provok'd them was the taking down Images and Crucifixes by the King's Viſitors, and in purſuance of his Injunctions. *Hayward* ſays *, as they paſt from Place to Place, many

* Compl. Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. 2. p. 292.

unſavoury

unſavoury Scorns were caſt upon them, and the further they went from *London*, the more the People roſe in Inſolence and Contempt; and that as one of theſe Commiſſioners was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, he was ſuddenly ſtabbed by a Prieſt with a Knife. He adds, Hereupon the People more regarding Commotions than Commiſſioners, flock'd together in divers Parts of the Shire, as Clouds cluſter againſt a Storm: And tho' ſome of theſe Rebels ſuffer'd exemplary Puniſhment, yet the Miſchief did not ſtop here, but ſpread itſelf into *Wiltſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Herefordſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*. But theſe being neither in Number nor Courage great, were in a little time appeas'd.

THAT which enſued, the *Devonſhire* Rebellion, appear'd more formidable; it would ſeem 'twas begun on the Account of Incloſures. The Great Men that had the Poſſeſſion of the Abbey-Lands, had taken in the waſte Ground in their reſpective Manors, which the Poor reſent as no ſmall Injury to them, being thereby depriv'd of ſome Privileges they us'd to have. To get themſelves reliev'd they fly to Arms, and preſently increaſe to Ten Thouſand, many of whom made it appear that they look'd further than the Incloſures, and were really more concern'd about their *antient Abbey-Religion* than Abbey-Lands.

ON *Whitſon-Monday*, ſays Dr. *Heylin*†, *June* 10, 1549. being the next Day after the Exerciſing of the publick Liturgy, ſome of the Pariſhoners of *Stamford-Courtney* compell'd the Pariſh-Prieſt to let them have Maſs as in former Times: This was ſeconded by others; whereupon they began to drop the Matter of Incloſures, and

† Hiſtory of Reformation, *p.* 75.

pretend

pretend Religion as the Cauſe of their coming together; and being headed by *Humphrey Arundel*, Eſq; and ſome other Gentlemen, they became conſiderable. They march'd into the Field with a Crucifix * under a Canopy, which inſtead of an Altar was ſet on a Cart, accompanied with Croſſes and Candleſticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and Holy Water, to drive away Devils, and dull their Enemies Swords, as *Speed* expreſſes it; and now it ſeems they venture to make their Demands of the King; the Particulars of which we have in *Strype*'s Life of *Cranmer*, with *Cranmer*'s Anſwer to them †. That the Reader may ſee what a noble Cauſe they had, and for what 'tis ſuch Men have ſo often fill'd the World with Blood and Confuſion, I ſhall tranſcribe moſt of them, they conſiſt of 15 Articles; thoſe that concern Religion are as follows:

The Demands of the Rebels.

(1.) WE will have all the General Councils, and Holy Decrees of our Forefathers obſerv'd, kept, and perform'd; and whoever ſhall gainſay 'em, we hold as Hereticks.

(2.) WE will have the Laws of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth, concerning the Six Articles, to be uſed again, as in his Time they were.

(3.) WE will have the Maſs in *Latin*, as was before; and celebrated by the Prieſt without any Man or Woman communicating with him.

(4.) WE will have the Sacrament hang over the high Altar, and there to be worſhipp'd as it us'd to be; and they that will not hereunto conſent, we will have them die like Hereticks againſt the Holy Catholick Faith.

* *Foulis*'s Pop. Treaſons, p. 318. † Appendix, p. 88.

(5.) WE

(5.) WE will have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Eaſter deliver'd to the Lay-People, and then but in one Kind.

(6.) WE will that our Curates ſhall miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſm at all times, as well in the Week-Day as on the Holy-Day.

(7.) WE will have Holy Bread and Holy Water every Sunday; Palms and Aſhes at the Time accuſtom'd; Images to be ſet up again in every Church; and all other antient Ceremonies us'd heretofore by our Mother Holy-Church.

(8.) WE will not receive the new Service, becauſe 'tis but like a Chriſtmas-Game; but we will have our old Service of Mattins, Maſs, Evening-Song, and Proceſſion in *Lent* as it was before.

(9.) WE will have every Preacher in his Sermon, and every Prieſt at the Maſs, pray eſpecially by Name for the Souls in Purgatory, as our Forefathers did.

(10.) WE will have the Bible and all Books of Scripture in *Engliſh* to be call'd in again; for we be inform'd, that *otherwiſe* the Clergy ſhall *not of long time confound the Hereticks.*

(11.) WE will have Dr. *Moreman* and Dr. *Criſpin*, which hold our Opinions to be ſafely ſent to us; and to them we require the King's Majeſty to give ſome certain Livings, to preach among us our Catholick Faith.

IN the 12th Article they demand that Cardinal *Pole* be not only pardon'd, but made of the King's Council. In the 13th they require that no Gentleman ſhall have more Servants than for every 100 Mark of Land one. In the 14th Article they inſiſt upon reſtoring Abbey-Lands and Chantry-Lands; and in the laſt Article

Article they demand that the particular Griefs of their Country may be ſo order'd, as *Humphrey Arundel* and *Henry Bray* ſhall inform the King's Majeſty.

THESE were the Terms they thought fit to inſiſt upon; by which 'tis eaſy to obſerve there could be no Accommodation with 'em by Treaty, unleſs the whole Reformation muſt be given up to them, for it was for Popery they fought; and therefore Forces are ſent againſt them under the Command of the Lord *Ruſſel*, and more under the Command of the Lord *Gray*: The Rebels had beſieged *Exeter*, and reduc'd it to ſome Extremities for want of Food. On the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1549. the Lord *Ruſſel* routed them and entred the City; which Day was kept afterwards among them as an *Annual Feaſt*, in Gratitude to God for their Deliverance from the Rebels.

THIS was follow'd with another Inſurrection in *Norfolk*. Their Cry was chiefly againſt Incloſures, and therefore march'd about Levelling; but being pretty much increas'd, they make their Demands of the King; and among other things complain *, that Holy Rites eſtabliſh'd by Antiquity were aboliſh'd, new ones authoriz'd, and a new Form of Religion obtruded to the ſubjecting their Souls to thoſe horrid Pains which no Death could terminate; (meaning, perhaps, that it threatned Hell inſtead of Purgatory) and therefore 'twas neceſſary for 'em to go in Perſon to the King, to place new Counſellors about him during his Minority, removing thoſe who confounded Things Sacred and Profane †. But they could not be gratified without too much Expence in all their Demands,

* *Heylin's* Hiſt. p. 77. † Ibid.

and

and therefore resolve to stand it out; and marching directly to *Norwich* they possess themselves of *Mousehold-Hill* *; on the Top of which, under a large Oak (since called *The Oak of the Reformation*) *Ket* their chief Man keeps his Court; but after some Skirmishes they accept a Pardon and lay down their Arms; some of the Principal of them being put to Death in *Terrorem*; Nine were hanged on the Tree of Reformation, *Ket* and his Brother were taken to *London*, and after a Time sent down and executed.

OTHER Disturbances of the like Kind happened during the short Reign of this young Prince; but none of them carried much Danger either to the Government or the Reformation, they were only the weak Efforts of a superstitious bigotted People, that knew not when they were well, nor would they accept of Deliverance; but were desperately bent upon continuing the Bonds on themselves and Posterity, under which their Forefathers had groaned for so many Ages. One cannot, methinks, represent their Case better than by that of *Micah*, when deprived of his *Teraphim*, his graven and molten Image, he cries after the *Danites* in the utmost Distress; *They have taken away my Gods says he, that I made, and what have I more* †? So fond were these poor Creatures of their Idolatrous Trash, as to look upon themselves undone when they wanted it; and therefore thought it a good Cause to venture their Lives in, *viz.* the destroying the Reformation, and the retrieving the many Blessings of Popery, the Comforts of Holy-Water, of Mass, Purgatory, *&c.*

I SHALL only take Notice that these Methods not succeeding, they go to work another

* Compleat History of *England*, Vol. II. p. 299. † *Jud.* 18, 23.

Way, and employ their Emiſſaries (as they have often done ſince) to promote Diviſions among the Reformers; to which Purpoſe two are diſpatch'd into *England* from *Rotterdam*, who were to preach againſt baptizing Infants, and for Rebaptizing, and a fifth Monarchy on Earth. It is ſaid * a Letter was ſent to two Biſhops, whereof *Winchester* was one; the Letter was from *Delf*, *May* 1549. to ſignify the coming of theſe Agents, and deſired they might be aſſiſted in this Cauſe. This Letter *Sir Henry Sidney* met with in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Cloſet, among ſome Papers of Queen *Mary*'s, and tranſcribed into his Book called *the Romiſts Policies*; ſo that finding Force would not do, they make uſe of Fraud, which has ever been their Expedient in Time of Need; but God diſappointed them in all, and hitherto ſtrengthned what he had wrought.

No Body need be informed that the next Reign (Queen *Mary*'s) totally overthrew the Reformation; he that would relate the Tranſactions of it, muſt write a Book of Martyrs; their Work now was not ſo much to plot againſt Proteſtants, as to deſtroy them with Authority, having Law and the Government on their Side.

SOME ſhort Account of their Proceedings, I ſhall here ſubjoin.

Q. *Mary*'s cruel Zeal to deſtroy the Reformation and Reformers.

QUEEN *Mary* began her Government with a Shew of Mildneſs, and with many fair Pretences; thus ſhe declared in Council that tho' ſhe was fixed in her own Religion, yet ſhe would not compel others to it, but would leave them to the Motions of God's Spirit, and the Labours of good Preachers; and the ſame ſhe repeated afterwards more publickly, requiring her People to live peaceably, *and not to uſe the Terms of*

* *Strype*'s Memorial of *Cranmer*, p. 206.

Papist or Heretick, or other reproachful Speeches; but if this was agreeable to her Inclinations, Nature was overcome by Principle, and born down by the horrid Maxims of that Religion she had imbibed; of which her false and perfidious Treatment of the *Suffolk* Men, who had expressed so much Zeal for her Advancement, is a flagrant Instance, and may serve as a Caution to others how they trust the most plausible Promises and Engagements of Popish Princes, who are taught that it is no Violation of their Honour to deceive Hereticks. She had it seems given them Assurance, that she would never make any Alteration of Religion, as it was in her Brother's Time, but would be contented with the private Exercise of her own Religion; upon which they resolved to venture their Estates and Lives in her Service, but this was soon forgot; and when they afterwards pleaded her Majesty's Promise, she answered tauntingly, *They should have the Honour of being the first Martyrs*, which was all the Requital their Zeal got.

AFTER she was a little established in her Throne, she prepares for her intended Work, which was to restore Popery, and proceeds in the Service of her Cause with all the Zeal her Religion inspired; one of the first Steps she took, was to silence the Protestant Bishops and other Divines of that Profession, the Pretence for which was this. Dr. *Bonner*'s Chaplain (*Bourn*) preaching at St. *Paul*'s highly extolled his Patron and violently inveighed against the Sufferings he had sustained; upon this a Tumult was raised by the People who could not bear any Reflections upon the pious King *Edward*, some threw Stones at him, and one darted a Dagget at the Pulpit, with such Force that it stuck fast in the Wood; *Rogers* and *Bradford* two emi-

nent Preachers, (afterwards Martyrs) were preſent and ſo much in Credit with the People, that they eaſily quieted them, and conveyed *Bourn* ſafe to his Houſe. "This ſays an Hiſtorian *, was ſuch an Accident as the Papiſts "would have deſired, and gave them a Colour "to prohibit preaching, which was done by a "publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name, ordering that none might preach without the "Queen's ſpecial Licence"; and at the ſame Time, *Gardiner* was made Licencer, ſo that henceforth, no Church or Pulpit in the Kingdom, muſt be opened to any, but according to the Will and Humour of that furious Bigot. Several were upon this immediately impriſoned, as *Coverdale* and *Hooper* (Biſhops of *Exeter* and *Glouceſter*;) *Bradford* and *Rogers* were alſo taken up and ſecured, upon a peculiar Pretence, viz. *that the Authority they ſhewed* (at Paul's) *in quieting the Tumult, was a Proof that they had firſt raiſed it.*

THESE Proceedings alarmed the Reformers, as may well be expected, and put them upon conſulting what Methods to take in this Extremity; ſome of them reſolved to continue preaching, which they did openly; others ſatisfy themſelves with private Conferences for inſtructing the People; upon which ſeveral are committed to Priſon, and others take Sanctuary in foreign Countries. *Cranmer* was adviſed to make his Eſcape among the reſt, but he anſwered that tho' he could not diſſuade others from that Courſe, now when they ſaw Perſecution riſing, yet conſidering the Station he was in, and the Hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it ſo indecent for

* Dr. *Burnet.*

him

him to fly, that no Intreaties ſhould ever prevail with him to do it, but inſtead of that, he reſolves to defend the Cauſe he had eſpouſed; which he did in a Paper publiſhed by the Advice of *Peter Martyr*, expoſing the Errors of the Maſs, declaring he was ready to maintain the whole Doctrine and Order of Religion ſet forth by the late King; for which and other Offences he was ſent to the Tower; ſoon after ſeven of the Proteſtant Biſhops were deprived at once without any Form of Proceſs, by a mere Act of Arbitrary Government (ſays *Eachard*) and others dying or fleeing beyond Sea, Sixteen new Popiſh Biſhops were ſpeedily created entirely at the Queen's Devotion, and exactly fitted for her Service.

AND now they proceed with greater Diſpatch; in the Parliament, 1553. a Bill paſſed in Favour of the old Popiſh Religion, wherein nine Acts made in the former Reigns about Religion, were repealed at a Clap. The Convocation this Year is opened with Tranſports *; *Harpesfield*, Biſhop *Bonner*'s Chaplain, preacheth upon the Apoſtle's Words to the Elders of *Epheſus*, *Attendite vobis & univerſo Gregi*, &c. *Take Heed to yourſelves and to the whole Flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt has made you Overſeers, &c.* He firſt divides his Text, and then after the Manner of theſe Times, proceeded to bidding the Prayers; and here he recommended the Queen to the Peoples Devotions in the firſt Place; whom he extolled in very peculiar Strains, uſing the Words of *Ozias* concerning *Judith*; *Bleſſed art thou, Daughter of the moſt high God, above all Women upon the Earth, bleſſed be the Lord God who hath created the Heaven and the Earth, who hath*

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 338.

directed thee to the cutting off the Head of the Chief of our Enemies, &c. and in the Concluſion, applies the Words of the Virgin *Mary*'s Magnificat to the Queen, ſhe being, ſays he, moſt glorioufly magnified in our Eyes, might ſing with her, *Behold from henceforth all Generations ſhall call me bleſſed.*

Anno 1554. THE next Year the Nation is ſolemnly and publickly reconciled to *Rome*, the Parliament having petitioned for it, and the Pope having ſent over Cardinal *Pool*, to receive their Submiſſion and tranſact the Affair. *Pool* upon his Arrival made a ſmooth Speech before both Houſes, the King and Queen preſent, in which he tells them, "That ſince by the late Schiſm "they had become Exiles from the Unity of "the Church, and the Kingdom of Heaven, "he would by Authority of Chriſt's Vicar bring "them back to the Fold, and ſo reſtore them "to their heavenly Inheritance", and therefore he exhorted them ingenuouſly to acknowledge and deteſt the Errors of the late Times, *&c.* upon which the Biſhop of *Winchester* preſented a Petition to the Legate, to abſolve the Clergy and Laity from the Crime of Hereſy; the Legate receives the Petition, and * pronounceth an Abſolution, all the Eſtates kneeling; and whereas the Legate having enjoined them for Pennance to repeal the Laws they had made againſt the Apoſtolick See; this is immediately done, and all the Laws againſt *Rome*, of King *Henry* the VIIIth. from the twentieth of his Reign are repealed, as were all thoſe of King *Edward*, that concerned the reforming of Religion.

AND now nothing remains but to reduce the Nation to the Obedience of their new

* *November* 30. 1554.

Maſters,

Maſters, by their uſual Methods of Blood and Violence; to which they addreſs themſelves; the firſt Sacrifice was *Rogers*, he was brought before the Council *Jan.* 22. 1555, where being asked by *Gardiner* whether he would unite himſelf to the Catholick Church, and receive the Pope as ſupream Head; he anſwered he knew no other Head of the Church but Chriſt; and after ſome diſputing, he was declared *an obſtinate Heretick*; and on the 4th of *February* was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*; 'tis obſerved he was ſo little terrified with the Sentence pronounced againſt him, that the Morning of his Execution, he was found *in a quiet and calm Sleep*; when he was brought to the Stake, a Pardon was offered him if he would recant, but he refuſed it upon their Terms, and ſaid, *he would not exchange a ſhort Fire for everlaſting Burnings*; adding he reſigned up his Life with Joy, as a Teſtimony to the Doctrine he had preached. *Hooper* was arraign'd and condemn'd at the ſame Time; after they had degraded him, they ſent him to *Glouceſter*, where he had been Biſhop, which was not a little pleaſing to him, hoping that his Death might confirm the Faith of his Friends there; he was brought to the Stake on the 9th of *February*, (having ſpent the Day before his Execution in Faſting and Prayer) and being preſs'd to accept of the Queen's Mercy with this Argument, that Death was bitter and Life was ſweet, he anſwer'd, *the Death that was to come was more bitter, and the Life that was to come was more ſweet.* He was near three Quarters of an Hour in burning, the Wood being green, and the Wind blowing away the Flame, the laſt Words he was heard to ſay, were *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* *Sanders* Miniſter of *Coventry*, and *Tay-*

lor Miniſter of *Hadly* in *Suffolk*, were condemned at the ſame Time, and ſent to be burnt at the Places they had ſerved for; the former was firſt committed for preaching without a Licence, after the Queen's Prohibition, and the Latter for oppoſing ſome Prieſts, who violently broke into his Church and ſaid Maſs in it. When Mr. *Sanders* came to the Place of Execution, a Pardon was offer'd him, but he ſaid he held no Hereſies, but the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt, and that he would never recant, and embracing the Stake cry'd out, *Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting Life*, and ſo expired *February* the 8th. The next Day *February* the 9th Dr. *Taylor* ſuffered at *Hadly*; when he was brought forth to Execution, he told the People, he had taught them nothing but God's holy Word, and was now to ſeal it with his Blood; but a Ruffian ſtruck him over his Head and ſilenced him; at the Stake he was put in a pitch'd Barrel, and as the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head and broke it, and fetch'd a great Deal of Blood; he there repeated the 51 Pſalm, and continued his Ejaculations to God till the Fire was kindled; when another of the Guards cut him in the Head with his Halbert, ſo that his Brains fell out.

Gardiner * was now in Hopes that theſe four Executions being made in ſeveral Parts of *England*, would have ſtruck ſuch a general Terrour into the whole Party, that there would have been little Occaſion for further Severities; But when he ſaw ſix more apprehended on the ſame Account, and that the Spirits of thoſe called Hereticks, were now rather inflam'd

* *Eachard.*

than

than depreſs'd, he reſolved to concern himſelf no further in theſe Trials; and turn'd over that invidious Task to *Bonner*, whoſe Temper was ſo cruel and brutal, that he chearfully undertook it, tho' the Nation ſtood amaz'd at ſuch Proceedings. He had for ſome Months kept one *Tomkins* a Weaver in his Houſe, who was found to doubt of the real Preſence; for which he us'd ſeveral Cruelties towards him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and Sinews burſt aſunder, and theſe not prevailing to make a Change, he was at laſt burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter* an Apprentice, not above nineteen Years of Age, was condemned and burnt on the ſame Account, whom it ſeems *Bonner* was ſo much concern'd to ſave, that he offer'd him forty Pounds to change his Faith; ſo mercenary adds Dr. *Burnet*, *did he imagine, were the Conſciences of ſome Men.*

The Method in theſe and all other Proceedings, during the reſt of this Reign, was ſummary and *ex Officio*: Upon Complaint made, Perſons were impriſon'd, and Articles were offer'd to them, which they were requir'd to anſwer; and if their Anſwers were judg'd Heretical, they were burnt without further Objections, or Proofs againſt them. *Ferrar* who had been Biſhop of St. *David's*, was thus treated by his Succeſſor *Morgan*; and tho' he appeal'd to Cardinal *Pool*, it had no other Effect but ſtopping his Execution three Weeks. *Rawlins White* a poor Fiſherman, was condemn'd by the Biſhop of *Landaff*, and afterwards burnt. *Marth* a Prieſt, was burnt at *Cheſter*; where to the ordinary Cruelty of burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head,

After

AFTER this they began to cool a little, and ſtop the Stream of Blood that was overflowing the Land, which was owing partly to the Averſion the People generally ſhewed to ſuch Severities, and partly to a Petition ſent from beyond Sea to the Queen, wherein they repreſent to her, the Danger of being carried away with a blind Zeal to perſecute the Members of Chriſt, as St. *Paul* had done before his Converſion; and not only expoſtulate with the Queen upon this Matter, but endeavour by many Arguments, to prove the Perſecution ſhe encouraged, unchriſtian and unlawful; but this was ſoon anſwer'd by a Book writ by Appointment, which ſets forth, "That the *Jews* * were commanded to put Blaſphemers to Death, and "thoſe Hereticks were ſuch, for they blaſphemed the Sacrament of the Altar: they noted "alſo that the Heathens have perſecuted Chriſtians, and if they had that Zeal for their falſe "Religion, it became Chriſtians to be much "more zealous for theirs; they urg'd that Expreſſion in the Parable, *Compel them to come in*, "and of St. *Paul*, *I would they were cut off, that "trouble you*; they took Notice that St. *Peter* had by a divine Power, ſtruck *Ananias* "and *Saphira* dead, which ſeemed a good Warrant for the Magiſtrate to put ſuch Perſons "to Death; they ſaid that Hereticks themſelves were for burning when they had "Power; they cited St. *Auſtin* who was for "proſecuting the *Donatiſts*, and tho' he had "been once of another Mind, yet finding Severities had a good Effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or baniſhing". And hereby the Flames are kindled again, and Mul-

* *Burnet.*

titudes

titudes ſacrificed in all Parts of the Nation, inſomuch that *Bonner* himſelf, 'tis ſaid began to draw back, as weary or aſham'd of ſuch vile Drudgery, till quickned by a Letter from the King and Queen, complaining of his Remiſneſs, and admoniſhing him henceforth to have more Regard to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop; which Admonition ſtirr'd up his Zeal, or as others think, gave him a Pretence for the more plauſible Exerciſe of that Cruelty, which was ſo natural to him.

HOWEVER it was, forward he goes, and in a ſhort Time ſeveral were burnt at *Smithfield*, ſeven in *Eſſex*, where the Council wrote to ſome chief Men to aſſiſt at their Executions, and hearing that ſome came on their own Accord to the Burnings at *Colcheſter*, they deſire the Lord *Rich* to give them Thanks for their Zeal. *Bradford* who appeas'd the Tumult at St *Paul's*, and ſaved *Bourn*, *Bonner's* Chaplain, (as before mention'd) was now accus'd and condemn'd for that very Tumult, among other Things; nor did *Bourn* ſpeak one Word in his Behalf, tho' *Bradford* appeal'd to him as to the Buſineſs of the Tumult. One *John Leſe* an Apprentice, of nineteen Years old, ſuffered with *Bradford*; when they came to the Stake, they fell down and pray'd, then *Bradford* kiſs'd the Stake, and cried, O *England* repent, beware of Idolatry and falſe Antichriſts; and embracing his fellow-Sufferer, he bid him be of good Comfort, for they ſhould ſup with Chriſt that Night; his laſt Words were, *Straight is the Gate, and narrow the Way that leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it.* This Year ſuffered alſo *Ridley* and *Latimer* at *Oxford*, the Night before Execution, *Ridley* was very chearful, and invited the Mayor and his Wife to be at his Wedding next *Anno* 1555.

next Day; at which, when the Mayor's Wife melted into Tears, he ſaid, he perceiv'd ſhe did not love him, adding, that tho' his Breakfaſt would be ſharp, he was ſure his Supper would be ſweet. When they came to the Stake, before *Baliol* College, they embraced each other with great Affection, and *Ridley* ſaid, Be of good Courage, Brother, for God will aſſwage the Flame, or enable us to abide it; *Latimer* added, We ſhall this Day light ſuch a Candle in *England*, as by God's Grace, ſhall never be extinguiſh'd. It was particularly remark'd, that *Gardiner* did ſo thirſt for the Blood of theſe good Men, that he would not dine that Day, 'till he had got Intelligence that the Fire was kindled; immediately after which, going to dinner, at four a Clock in the afternoon, he was ſtruck, as our Hiſtorians deliver it, with a ſudden Illneſs, which turn'd to a Suppreſſion of Urine, and held him many Days, 'till he died, on the 12th of *November*, when he expreſſed, 'tis ſaid, great Sorrow and Remorſe for his former Life.

Anno 1556. IN the Beginning of the next Year, they take *Cranmer* into their Hands, who had been long preſerved a Priſoner by *Gardiner*'s Means, out of a politick Deſign; great Applications were made to him to recant, which the poor Man, thro' fear of Death, as he himſelf confeſs'd, was prevailed with to do; ſigning a Recantation of what they call'd Hereſy, and acknowledging the Pope's Authority the ſeven Sacraments, Purgatory, &c. but this, only wounded his Conſcience, but did not ſave his Life, for the Queen was * reſolv'd

* One can't but obſerve that Popiſh Zeal, ſuch is the Fury of it, extinguiſheth all Senſe, even of Gratitude and Humanity, when the Queen had fallen under her Father's Diſpleaſure.

reſolv'd to ſhew him no Mercy; ſhe ſaid that his Repentance was good for his Soul, but ſince he had been the chief Diffuſer of Hereſy over the Nation, it was neceſſary to make him a publick Example; for which Purpoſe a Writ was ſent down to burn him, this was kept from *Cranmer*'s Knowledge, they deſigning to hurry him to the Stake, and out of the World without any Notice, yet having ſome Suſpicion of their Deſign, he wrote a long Paper containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as had been dictated purely by his Conſcience, and not his Fears. The 21ſt of *March* being fix'd for his Execution, he was brought to St. *Mary*'s Church, and ſet in a conſpicuous Seat erected for that Purpoſe; where *Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton*, preach'd the Sermon, in which he exhorted him to perſiſt in the Faith, of which he had lately publiſh'd a Confeſſion (meaning his Recantation) even to Death itſelf; which it was the Will of the Magiſtrate to inflict on him that Day, ſince the divine Vengeance for the Execution of *More* and *Fiſher* under King *Henry* could not otherwiſe be expiated; he told him his Converſion was

pleaſure, which it ſeems roſe ſo high, as to reſolve upon putting her to Death; *Cranmer* was the only Perſon that durſt interpoſe in her Behalf, he repreſents to the King, that ſhe was young and indiſcreet, and therefore it was no Wonder if ſhe obſtinately adher'd to that which her Mother and all about her, had been infuſing into her for many Years, but that it would appear Strange if he for this Cauſe, ſhould ſo far forget he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child; that if ſhe was ſeparated from her Mother and her People, in a little Time there might be Ground gain'd on her; but to take away her Life, would raiſe Horrour thro' all Europe againſt him; which prevailed on the King, to ſtop his Proceedings. And afterwards when ſhe was to be diſinherited by King *Edward*, the Archbiſhop ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, nor could be prevail'd with to ſubſcribe the Decree, 'till the Judges had unanimouſly affirm'd it might lawfully be done, and the dying King had overcome him by his Importunity, and yet now forgetting all this, nothing will ſatisfy the implacable Spirit of a Popiſh Zealot but his Blood.

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the immediate Hand of God, that none of their Arguments had done it, but the inward Working of God's Spirit, that nothing could be more acceptable to God, and all good Men, than a publick Declaration of the Reality of it; at the ſame Time giving him great Hopes and Expectations of Heaven, and aſſuring him, that there ſhould be Dirges and Maſſes ſaid for his Soul, in all the Churches in *Oxford*. All this while, the unhappy Man expreſſed great inward Confuſion; often lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and then letting them fall down again as one aſham'd of himſelf; at the ſame Time, pouring out Flouds of Tears, but recollecting himſelf, and rouſing his former Courage, he boldly ſtood up and made an excellent Speech to the People, in which he declar'd the principal Heads of his Faith and Doctrine, affirming, that the Kingdom of Antichriſt was contain'd and eſtabliſh'd in the Power of the Pope, &c. and then ſpake to that which, he ſaid, troubled his Conſcience, more than any Thing he had ever done in his whole Life, which was the ſubſcribing a Paper contrary to the Truth, againſt his Conſcience, out of the Fear of Death, and the Love of Life; adding at the ſame Time this publick Declaration, *That when he came to the Fire, he was reſolv'd that Hand, that had ſign'd it, ſhould burn Firſt*; this caus'd a great Confuſion in the Aſſembly: and ſome calling to him to diſſemble no more, he cried out that he ever loved Simplicity, and excepting that Inſtance, he never diſſembl'd in his Life; and thus going on in his Diſcourſe, with Abundance of Tears they pull'd him down, and led him away to the Stake, at the ſame Place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt; when the Fire was kindled, he ſtretch'd out his right Hand into the Flame,

Flame, and, with an amazing Steadineſs, held it till it was conſumed, ſometimes ſaying *That unworthy Hand!* and often crying, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit!* till he quite expired in the Torment. 'Tis ſaid, that when his Body was conſumed to Aſhes, his Heart was found entire and untouch'd: Which remarkable Accident was much obſerv'd; and if it had happen'd to one of the contrary Party, would no doubt have paſs'd for a Miracle.

Besides this Great Man, ſeveral more fell a Sacrifice to the ſame cruel Zeal this Year; *Anno* 1559. no leſs than Eighty four or Eighty five, as ſome have computed: Nor had they Compaſſion to Age or Sex. They burnt at *Stratford* a blind Man, and a Cripple of Threeſcore and eight Years of Age, *May* 15. On the 27th of *June* were burnt in the ſame Place, and in one Fire, eleven Men and two Women. A Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at *Guernſey*; and one of the Daughters being married, and big with Child, the Violence of the Fire caus'd her Child to ſpring out of her Womb, and fall into the Fire: Which a By-ſtander, of more Mercy than the reſt, ſnatch'd out of the Flames; but, upon Conſideration, it was thrown in again, and burnt as an Heretick. Nor was their Rage confin'd to the Living; the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, who had been long buried, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Hereſy, and with much ſavage Ceremony publickly burnt in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, who died at *Oxford*, was likewiſe raked out of her Grave, and buried in a Dunghill.

And in this manner they went on ſcattering their Terrors among the poor, diſtreſs'd People, they call'd Hereticks, ſlaughtering and mur-

murdering all that had Courage enough to avow their Religion, and profeſs contrary to the Deciſions of Holy Church, *Blood touching Blood*: So that in the ſhort Reign of this Queen, Two hundred eighty eight ſuffer'd, *viz.* five Biſhops, twenty one other Divines, eight Gentlemen, four Tradeſmen, two hundred Husbandmen, Servants and Labourers, twenty ſix Wives, twenty Widows and Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants. This is according to Mr. *Fox*'s Account: But he that wrote the Preface to Biſhop *Ridley*'s Book *de Cœna Domini*, ſuppos'd to be *Grindal*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſays, That in the two firſt Years of the Queen's Perſecution above eight hundred were put to Death for Religion.

IF any ſhould think this Number, according to either Account, but ſmall, and that it does not anſwer what is ſaid of the Cruelty of thoſe Times, it muſt be conſider'd that Queen *Mary* had but about five Years for all this Work; the Proteſtant Religion was but planting in the Nation in the former Reigns, and had taken but ſlender hold in the Minds of the People: So that there were but few Confeſſors comparatively, that openly avow'd the Principles and Doctrines for which others ſuffer'd. A great deal more was deſign'd to be done, and would have been done, had not Providence prevented by cutting off the Queen, who we are told was puſh'd on to greater Rage and Cruelty by her Confeſſor, Council, *&c.* than otherwiſe ſhe would have ſhewn: Hence, when ſhe fancied herſelf with Child, and expected to be deliver'd, which ſhe did for a Month together, they ſuggeſted to her, *That ſhe could not bear a Child as long as there was an Heretick in the Kingdom.* Upon which,

which, says Bishop *Burnet* *, Letters were written through the Nation to quicken the Persecution; and, indeed, nothing short of an Inquisition was design'd: In order to which a Commission was given to *Bonner* and twenty more, most of 'em Laymen, to search all over *England* for Persons suspected of Heresy, and to proceed against them by *Presentments*, or any other politick Ways; many other Commissions, subaltern to theirs, were issu'd out for several Counties and Dioceſſes, which was look'd upon as such an Advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would shortly follow. Several Instructions were sent to the County of *Norfolk*, of which the sixth runs thus: "They "shall procure to have in every Parish, or eve-"ry Part of the Shire, as near as may be, "some one or more honest Men secretly in-"structed to give Information of the Inhabi-"tants amongst or about them." And in the Register of the Earl of *Sussex* (who had advis'd to proceed against these Offenders by Martial Law, instead of the dilatory Proceedings in ordinary Courts) it was agreed to this sixth Article, "That the Justices of the Peace in "every of their Limits should call before them "one or two honest Persons, or more, and com-"mand them by Oath, or otherwise, as they "shall think good, that they shall secretly learn "or search out such Person or Persons as shall "evil behave themselves at Church, and de-"spise openly by Words the King or Queen's "Proceedings; and that the same Information "shall be given *secretly* to the Justices; and the "same Justices shall call such accus'd Persons "before them, and examine 'em, *without declaring*

* Introduction to the 3d Vol. of the Reformation.

" *by whom they are accuſed*; and upon Examina-
" tion, puniſh the Offenders by their Diſcre-
" tion." So that here are Sworn-Spies ap-pointed, like the Familiars of the Inquiſition; ſecret Depoſitions not to be diſcover'd, and upon theſe further Proceedings are order'd: And, no Queſtion, a little Time would have finiſhed and ſettled that inhumane, helliſh Court. But God remembred Mercy, heard the Cry of his diſtreſſed People, put an End to their Sufferings by the Death of that bloody Queen on the 17th of *Nov.* 1558. in the Forty third Year of her Age, after ſhe had Reigned five Year, four Months, and eleven Days: *And hitherto, and here again, the Lord hath helped us.*

IT was before obſerv'd, that as Queen *Mary* undid what her Father and Brother had done, ſo her Siſter *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it, only the one makes quick Diſpatch, ruining in a Year the Preparations of Twenty: The other proceeds more leiſurely, hewing Popery down by De-grees, or ſtealing it away rather by Piecemeal, and not tearing it up by the Roots all at once; however, what ſhe did was ſo offenſive to the Zealots of that Party, that they take all ima-ginable Methods to be revenged on her, and to retrieve, if poſſible, their ſinking Cauſe.

Plots in Q. *Elizabeth's* Reign.

POPE *Pius* IV. being lately advanced to the papal Chair, begins to attempt the reducing of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Obedience of his See: To which purpoſe, he tries what fair Means will do, and writes a cajoling Letter to her, which he ſent by *Parpalia*, Abbot of *St. Saviour's*, *Anno* 1560. We have it at large in *Cambden*, *Fuller*, &c. the Subſtance of which is as follows:

Pope's Letter to Q. *Elizabeth.*

" Our moſt beloved Daughter in Chriſt, Greet-
" ing and Apoſtolical Benediction; how earneſt-
" ly we deſire (as by our paſtoral Duty bound)

" to

" to take effectual Care of your Salvation, and " to provide for your Honour, and the Eſta- " bliſhment of your Kingdom, both God the " Searcher of Hearts knows, and you may learn " your ſelf from the Inſtructions we have given " to our beloved Son *Purpalia*: We do there- " fore, moſt dear Daughter, exhort your High- " neſs again and again, that you would lay by " theſe ill Counſellors, who love themſelves " better than your Intereſt; and that you would " proceed in the Fear of God, and acknowledge " the Time of your Viſitation, and yield Obe- " dience to our paternal Admonitions; by do- " ing which, you may promiſe your ſelf every " thing at our Hand that you can deſire, not " only towards the Happineſs of your Soul, but " the Eſtabliſhment alſo of your Royal Digni- " ty, according to the Authority entruſted with " us by God; who, if you return to the Boſom " of the Church, are ready to receive you with " the ſame Affection the Parent in the Goſpel " received the Prodigal upon his Return; tho' " our Satisfaction *will be greater*, ſince he re- " joyced in the Salvation of one Child only, you " as virtually, containing all the People of " *England*, will give us occaſion to congratulate " the Converſion of a whole Nation; nay, you " will fill Heaven with Joy, and by ſo memo- " rable an Action perpetuate your Name, and " purchaſe a much richer Diadem than what " you now wear." And 'tis ſaid *, that the Abbot was inſtructed to aſſure her Majeſty, That he would diſanul the Proteſt againſt her Mother's Marriage as unjuſt, *ſettle the* Engliſh *Liturgy by his Authority*, and grant the Uſe of the Sacraments to the *Engliſh* under both Kinds,

* Compl. Hiſt. of England, Vol. 2. p. 384.

in caſe ſhe would reconcile herſelf to the *Romiſh* Communion, and bow to the Supremacy of his Chair; and that ſeveral thouſand Crowns were promiſed to thoſe that ſhould effect this: But the Queen, as *Cambden* expreſſes it, ſtill conſiſted with her Motto *Semper Eadem*; nor would ſhe ſuffer *Parpalia* to enter *England*.

Anno 1561. HOWEVER, buſy Heads are ſtill at work: The next Year the Pope ſends another Nuncio, the Abbot *Martinego*; and tho' he is refus'd Admittance into the Land, yet the very Noiſe of his Coming, gave Occaſion to ſome *Romaniſts* to ſpread Reports of the Queen's Converſion: And the Pope's Nuncio then in *Ireland*, it ſeems was ſo forward, as to deprive her Majeſty by his pretended Authority, of all Title to that Kingdom; and not only ſo, but to joyn with the Rebels againſt her *.

Several Aſſaſſins employ'd againſt Q. *Elizabeth.* WHAT Conſpiracies and horrid Attempts were made againſt her Life by this deſperate Faction, during the greateſt Part of her Reign, is related by all our Hiſtorians, and is too large to be brought into theſe Papers: I'll give the Reader, however, a brief Epitome, moſtly from *Foulis*. He tells us, that Pope *Pius* V. was ſtrongly bent, not only to get Queen *Elizabeth* depos'd, but murder'd; and having loaded her with the moſt reproachful and baſe Names; he employs his Emiſſaries againſt her, particularly *Roberto Rodolpho*, a *Florentine* Gentleman, who was ſent to reſide in *England*, under the Pre-
Anno 1568. tence of Merchandizing, and to ſtir up the People againſt the Queen; and in caſe he ſucceeded, the Pope deals with the *French*, and *Spaniard*, and *Portugal*, to yield their Aſſiſtance; the laſt of which ſends the Marquis of *Cetona*, un-

* *Foulis's* Pop. Trea. *p.* 329.

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der Colour of an Embaſſy, to countenance the Rebellion, and to command the Forces with which the Duke of *Alva* was to invade the Kingdom. In the mean time, *Rodolpho* minds his Buſineſs, executing his Commiſſion with great Diligence; and having form'd a Plot againſt the Queen, endeavour'd to make *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Head thereof; promiſing him in Marriage, *Mary*, the unfortunate Queen of the *Scots*, now ſecured in *England*; and at laſt they over-perſuaded the good-meaning Duke to engage further than was * fitting for a Subject, being drawn thereto by ſome falſe Friends: And into the ſame Deſign went *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, with ſeveral others of Quality; who at laſt perceiving the Queen had diſcover'd their Plot, ſubmitted and begg'd Pardon. "Nor, adds my Author †, "was the Pope himſelf idle; "but ſo zealous for this Rebellion, that he aſ- "ſur'd the *Spaniards*, if need be, that he would "go himſelf in Perſon to aſſiſt them."

BUT whereas Things went ſlowly on, the better to encourage the Work, and animate the Workman, the *Pope* is perſuaded by *Harding*, *Stapleton*, *Morton*, and others, to publiſh the Sentence of Excommunication and Depoſition mention'd before; upon which, the Papiſts look'd upon Queen *Elizabeth*, as the *Barbarians* did on St. *Paul*, when the Viper was faſtned to his Hand, *expecting that he ſhould have ſwollen and have fallen down dead:* But as he ſhook off the venemous Beaſt into the Fire, without hurt to himſelf; ſo the Queen ſtands under this heavy Curſe, and ſtaggers not, deſpiſing the Inſults of the proud Pontiff, warding off the Blows of his

* As appears from his Confeſſion at his Execution mentioned by *Cambden*. † *Foulis's* Pop. Treaſ. *p.* 331.

Janizaries; however, this Effect it had, it ſtirred up all the *Ravilliacks* of the Party, and let looſe a Company of *Ruffians*, like ſo many Bull-Dogs, to worry her.

HIS Bull, it ſeems, was firſt made known in *England* by Dr. *Nicholas Morton*, whom the *Pope* ſent to declare in his Name, that the Queen was an *Heretick*, and ſo had no Right to Rule, and that ſhe ought to be look'd upon no otherwiſe than an *Infidel Pagan*: Accordingly *Morton* coming into *England*, ſhews the papal Curſe, and ſets forward a Rebellion. But the boldeſt Step was that of *Felton*, who ſtuck up the *Pope*'s Bull on the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace-Gate in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard *; and ſo reſolute was he in his Cauſe, that he refuſes to withdraw for his Safety; and when he was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd, owns and vindicates the Fact, calls the Queen the *pretended* Queen, affirming he had done her no Wrong, ſhe having nothing to do in the Throne, *being depriv'd by the Pope*; but Juſtice overtook him, he ſuffers as a Traitor; tho' *Parſons* calls him a *Glorious Martyr*; others call him the *Valiant Soldier*, and *Brave Champion of Jeſus Chriſt*.

ENDLESS were their Plots hereupon againſt her Crown and Life. *Foulis* † mentions a Treatiſe of Schiſm, written by *Gregory Martin*, and publiſh'd in the Year 1584. which, among other things, exhorted the Women at Court to act the ſame againſt the Queen, as *Judith* had done with Commendations againſt *Holofernes*; which ſeveral in different Ways attempted to do, (I mean to murder her) tho' without Succeſs. The Treaſons of *Parry*, *Babington*, *Savage*, *Lopez*, *Squire*, *York*, &c. are too many to be here related.

* *May* 15, 1570. † Page 28.

Lopez,

Lopez, a *Jew*, and Phyſician, was hired to poyſon the Queen; and had, as an Earneſt-Penny, a rich Jewel ſent him, and was promiſed for the Performance fifty thouſand Ducats; and in the ſame Year *, *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams* were hired to the ſame Work. *York* at his Trial confeſs'd, that *Holt* the Jeſuit, *Hugh Owen*, &c. had offer'd him an Aſſignment of forty thouſand Ducats, if he would kill the Queen himſelf, or aſſiſt *Richard Williams* in doing it; and that *Holt*, kiſſing the *Holy Hoſt*, ſwore that the Money ſhould be paid ſo ſoon as the Queen was kill'd; and bound *York* and *Williams* by an Oath, and the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, to diſpatch her. Many more were employ'd in the ſame Service; *Cambden* † takes Notice of at leaſt half a Score Aſſaſſines, beſides thoſe we have mention'd.

BUT all theſe Endeavours failing, they reſolve at laſt upon a Home-ſtroke, which was utterly to deſtroy the Queen, and her heretical Subjects, by a foreign Power: To which purpoſe, the King of *Spain* invades the Land with what they call'd the *Invincible Armado*, the Pope having given him theſe Kingdoms, and earneſtly exhorted him to the Enterprize, and ſent an Admonition to the People of *England*, to joyn with him againſt their Sovereign.

VAST were the Preparations they made, having an hundred and thirty Ships, with all Sorts of Ammunition, a ſufficient Number of Soldiers and Mariners, and above a hundred Noblemen of *Spain* that came Voluntiers; expecting, no queſtion, their Share of the Spoil: The Prince of *Parma* alſo, in the *Netherlands*, built a vaſt Number of flat-bottom'd Boats, with a large Supply of Ships. The Pope having

* 1594. † Annals of Queen Eliz. 1594.

bleſs'd the Undertaking, ſent abroad his *Croiſado*, offering full Pardon of Sin to every one that contributed any Aſſiſtance, promiſing for himſelf a Million of Gold, provided that the Crown of *England* ſhould be held *as Feudatory to the See of* Rome: And, for his better Encouragement, he beſtows on the King of *Spain* the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, with Apoſtolical Benediction.

ON the 20th of *July*, about Noon, this *Terrible Armament* came within ſight of the *Engliſh* Coaſt; their Ships appear'd as ſo many Caſtles, in Front like an Half-Moon, the Horns whereof ſtretched forth in Breadth about ſeven Miles, the Ocean, as it were, groaning under them.

HOW this famous *Armado* (that they fooliſhly call'd *Invincible*) was conquer'd, is known. I ſhall only take Notice, that there was ſo much of Providence, our Enemies themſelves being Judges in it, that the *Spaniſh* Admiral, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, blaſphemouſly ſwore, that he fear'd *Jeſus Chriſt was turn'd Lutheran:* Nay, the King of *Spain* himſelf hearing of this ſtrange Defeat of his Fleet, ſaw ſo evidently the Finger of God in this Diſappointment, that he's reported to have ſaid, *He did not ſend his Fleet to fight againſt God, but againſt Men.*

AND theſe were ſome of the Deſigns carried on againſt the Nation; its Religion, Laws, Liberties and Enjoyments in this Reign; but all were defeated thro' the good Hand of our God upon us. The Pope, like *Balaam*, had often attempted to bring *England* under his Curſe, but the Curſe cauſeleſs did not come: Their Meaſures were happily broken, and none of their Weapons form'd againſt us proſper'd; *Hitherto the Lord helped us.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Plots under King James I. *to pervert him to their Religion, to exclude him,* &c. Powder-Plot. *Prince* Charles's *(afterwards King* Charles) *Letter to the Pope.* Spaniſh *Match; Conditions agreed to the* French *Match. King* James's *Inclination to Popery, and free Declaration to the Archbiſhop of* Embrun. *His Inclination to Arbitrary Power. His hectoring of Parliaments. And raiſing Money without them.*

BEING thus diſappointed in Queen *Elizabeth*, and in their Enterprizes againſt her Life and Government, they caſt an Eye to her Succeſſor King *James*, whom they firſt endeavour to exclude, and then to deſtroy. *Foulis* gives a pretty full Hiſtory of their Conſpiracies and Practices to this Purpoſe. We have ſeveral Particulars collected in a late Pamphlet *, from which I ſhall tranſcribe a few Things.

HIS Mother *Mary Queen of the Scots*, was a bigotted *Papiſt*, as is well known; and it ſeems in the Height of her Zeal, was reſolv'd to ſet aſide her Son's Title, if he prov'd a *Heretick*. An Abbot of their own, *Ruggerius Tri-*

* Memorial for the 5th of *Novemb.r*, Printed 1713.

tonius,

tonius *, in his Life of *Cardinal Laureus*, acknowledges, that *Mary* the Queen of *Scots*, the Day before ſhe ſuffer'd Death, did under her own Hand declare, that her Son *James*, ſhould not inherit *England*, if he remain'd a Proteſtant; but that the Right of the Kingdom ſhould be tranſlated to *Philip of Spain*; and it ſeems this very Thing, was charg'd upon her at her Trial, *viz.* That ſhe promis'd to give her Right of *England*, to the King of *Spain* †, if her Son *James* would not be of the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion, which ſhe ſignify'd in a Letter to *Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Embaſſador.

BUT not truſting to this, they go to work another Way, and endeavour to prove him *Illegitimate*, a Mock-King, denying him to be the Son of *Queen Mary*; next they attempt to draw him in to join with *Spain* againſt *Queen Elizabeth*, under Pretence of revenging his Mother's Death; but this Project failing, about the Beginning of the Year, 1583. (as the *Papiſts* themſelves tell us) the Biſhop of *Dumblain* was ſent to him (*King James*) by *Pope Sixtus* 6th, to make him an Offer of a Marriage with the *Infanta of Spain*, on Condition of becoming a Catholick, and taking Part againſt Queen *Elizabeth* ||, and when they could not ſucceed in this, the Prieſts abroad, ſays my Author, invented another Stratagem, to raiſe a Jealouſy in Queen *Elizabeth*, that the King of *Scotland* was tampering with the *Spaniards* at the ſame Time, he profeſs'd his utmoſt Averſion to them: Then they inſinuate that he was a *Papiſt* ‡, or inclin'd to their Religion, which they did to prejudice him with the Queen.

* Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713. † Ibid. p. 6.
|| Ibid. p. 8. ‡ Ibid. p. 10.

BUT

A Popish Pretender set up.

BUT finding none of these Contrivances would take, they resolve to set up a Popish Pretender; and whereas the King of *Spain* at that Time, bid fairest for an Universal Monarchy, they have Recourse to his Family: And Father *Parsons* undertakes to prove, that the Title of the Crown of *England* did of Right, belong to his Daughter the *Infanta, even of Hereditary Right Divine and Indefeasible*, fetching it from a long and lineal Descent, upon an old Marriage between *Spain* and *England*; and thereby making Queen *Elizabeth* herself an Usurper, as were her Successors. To serve this Purpose, the said Father *Parsons* wrote his *Doleman* or Conference about the Succession to the Crown of *England*; the chief Design of which, was to exclude the *Scots* Title, and set up the *Spanish Infanta* *.

BUT *Parsons* not trusting to the Strength of his Arguments, and to the Title of Birth-Right; thought fit to take another Method, and therefore propos'd at *Rome*, that the Catholick Princes should by mutual counsel and consort, chuse out and appoint a Successor to the Crown of *England*, and to this Purpose dealt with *Cardinal D'Offat*, that the *Pope*, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*, should agree among themselves in a Successor for *England*, that should be a Catholick, and that they should join their Forces to settle such a one upon the Throne of *England*, still meaning *the Infanta*, contriving an Alliance and Confederacy to bring her in; and it seems some brisk Resolutions were taken hereupon, as appears from a Letter wrote to Sir *Robert Sidney*, *Nov.* 9, 1595. "I briefly advertise you, says his Cor-

* Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed 1713. p. 14.

"respondent,

" respondent, of Things assuredly confirm'd, " The *King of Spain* having provided great " Treasure, Ships and Arms, hath declar'd " that either he will alter the Religion and pre- " sent Government of *England*, or bestow all " that he hath in the World; that *England* is " most assuredly to be invaded; and the chief " Instruments of the present Government to be " quite extinguished, as Enemies to the Faith; " that there shall be such a King put up in *En-* " *gland, if the Queen will not be a Catholick*, as " the Realm shall chuse being a Catholick *; " which shall be in League with the *Pope*, the " King of *Spain*, and all such Catholick Prin- " ces as join to extirpate *Heresy*, and plant Ca- " tholick Faith; that the King of *Scots* must " either be a Catholick, or lose his Title to " any Kingdom ". I'll only add here, that whilst these plain hearted, upright Men, the *Jesuits*, were labouring in every Court of *Europe*, where they had Access, in such like Projects as these, they did for a blind gravely make a Decree, *that none of them should meddle with State-Affairs.*

Q. *Elizabeth* and her Ministry, endeavour to fix K. *James*, in the Protestant Interest.

In the mean Time the Queen and her wise Ministry, endeavour to fix *King James* in the Protestant Interest; representing to him that there was no other Way to secure his Succession to the Crown of *England*, and that the Nobility and Gentry had Honour and Spirit too great, to submit to the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; and this, 'tis like, was a principal Argument to keep him tite to that Interest, which he declares himself resolv'd to adhere to, by Instructions sent to *Hamilton*, in the Year, 1600. " In my Name, says he, assure all ho-

* Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713. p. 16

" nest

" neſt Men in the Princely Word of a Chriſtian " King, that as I had ever without ſwerving " maintain'd the ſame Religion within my King " dom, ſo as ſoonas it ſhall pleaſe God, lawfully to " poſſeſs me with the Crown of that Kingdom, " I ſhall not only maintain the Profeſſion of the " Goſpel there, but withal not ſuffer any other " Religion to be profeſs'd, and avow'd within " the Bounds of that Kingdom.

UPON this, apprehending little Hopes of the King of *Scotland*, theſe buſy Sticklers prevail with the Pope *, to put in a Bar to his Succeſſion; to which Purpoſe he ſends over to *Garnet*, provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*, two Bulls of his Apoſtolical Authority; one directed to the Clergy, the other to the Nobility and reſt of the Laity: The Matter of both was the ſame, *viz.* to enjoin them by Virtue of their Obedience, that whenever it ſhould happen, *Miſeram illam Fœminam*, that miſerable Woman, as he call'd the Queen, ſhould depart this Life, they ſhould admit none to aſcend her Throne, how near ſoever in Blood (thereby pointing directly to the King of *Scotland*) unleſs ſuch as ſhould not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but to their utmoſt promote it †; and who according to the Example of their Anceſtors, would ſwear to do ſo.

QUEEN *Elizabeth* dying *March* 24, 1603. the Faction diſpatch'd a Meſſenger into *Spain*, to give Advertiſements thereof, and to continue the former Negotiations with that Court, ſetting forth that the Condition of the Catholicks would be harder under the new King than it had been under Queen *Elizabeth*; and therefore they preſs *Winter* ||, to continue his Soli-

* *Clement* VIII. † Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713. p. 34. || Ibid. p. 21.

citations

citations for Help, *&c.* But it ſeems King *Philip* began to cool of the Matter, and return'd in Anſwer, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had ſent Embaſſadors into *England* to treat of Peace with the new King, which was concluded and ratify'd ſoon after *.

AND now being repuls'd in every Attack, and deſerted by their Friends, they reſolve to have one Puſh more for it: The Conſpirators, ſays *Thuanus*, fly to their laſt and deſperate Counſels; and in the firſt Place they make it their Buſineſs to ſatisfy their Conſciences, and that being done, they confirm their Reſolutions to attempt ſome great Enterprize (which was the *Powder-Plot.*)

Powder Plot. SEVERAL Debates were held about this; in *September* 1603, there was a Meeting of the principal Actors in it; in which *Catesby* began with a grievous Complaint of the King's Proceedings; for that Contrary to their Expectations, his Majeſty did both hold, and was like continually to run the ſame Courſe which the Queen had held: *Piercy* in great Heat replies, that there was no Way left but to kill the King: No, *Tom*, replies *Catesby*, thou ſhalt not adventure thyſelf to do ſo ſmall a Purpoſe: if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a Plot to greater Advantage, and ſuch a one as can never be diſcover'd †; adding that the killing the King would not ſufficiently ſerve the Catholick Cauſe, while the Prince and Duke of *York* were left alive: Nay, if both theſe were deſtroy'd, the Nobility, Judges, Knights, *&c.* would be remaining, who would always ſtand in their Way, and croſs their Purpoſes; that therefore he had

* Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713. p. 40. † Ibid.

bethought

bethought himself of a better and more safe Way, which was at one Time, and at one Blow, to cut off all their Enemies: This he said, was by blowing up the Parliament House with Gunpowder; when the King and his States were assembled.

How they began, and how far they proceeded in this Hellish Design, is a Thing pretty well known, and needs not here to be related. I shall only observe, that when the full Design was open'd it appear'd so shocking, even to the Consciences of those Men, that some of them were startl'd at it, and thought meet to ask the Opinion of their Ghostly Fathers, and be inform'd of the Lawfulness of the Fact: To which Purpose they consulted *Garnet* and others, who commended the Enterprize, assuring them they might go on with *a good Conscience*, and perform the Deed; seeing they were *Hereticks*, and Persons *ipso jure Excommunicated*, against whom they were set; but when this Difficulty was got over, it seems another stuck with them, and that is whether it be lawful to destroy the Righteous with the Wicked, for in so general a Blow, some Catholicks were like to be involved in the common Destruction *. To this *Garnet* answers, That if the Advantage was greater to the Catholick Part, by taking away some Innocents, together with some Nocents, that doubtless it should be lawful to kill and to destroy them all; as we must not forbear the storming a Fort, tho' some Frinds be in it, who with the Enemy may be slain.

THE Way being thus clear'd they go forward, an Oath of Secrecy and Perseverance being requir'd of every one, which was in these

* Memorial for 5th of *November*, Printed, 1713. p. 32.

Terms;

Terms; "You ſhall ſwear by the Bleſſed Tri-"nity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe "to receive, never to diſcloſe directly or indi-"rectly by Word or Circumſtance, the Matter "that ſhall be propos'd to you to keep Secret; "nor deſiſt from the Execution thereof, until "the reſt ſhall give you Leave". This done, they went into a more private Chamber, heard Maſs, receiv'd the Sacrament from *Jerard*, prepare themſelves with all Diligence for the Enterprize, procure a Cellar under the Parliament Houſe, which they ſtore with 36 Barrels of Powder cover'd with Billets, Faggots, Stones and Iron Bars; to which a Train of Powder was laid, that was to be fir'd *November* the 5th, the Day when the Parliament was to meet.

THE Diſcovery of this, by a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* I paſs by as known; who wrote the Letter is a Secret: I muſt own, I can't but ſuſpect the Hand of the King was in it, not that he * contriv'd the Plot, which is moſt abſurd

* The Papiſts at that Time could not tell how to deny the Fact, but excuſed it as well as they could, by calling it an Attempt *of a few* unfortunate Gentlemen: It ſeems it had been under Conſultation for a conſiderable while among them. *Del-Rio* in a Treatiſe printed 1600. puts a Caſe, in the Suppoſition of Auricular Confeſſion, as if, *ſays* Dr. *Kennet*, (*Sermon* Nov. 5. 1715.) he he had already lookt into the Mine and Cellars, and had heard the whole Confeſſion of *Faux* and *Catesby*: The Caſe he puts was this, Whether if a Confederate diſcover in Confeſſion, that he or ſome elſe have plac'd Gunpowder, under ſuch or ſuch a Houſe; and unleſs it be removed the Houſe will be blown up, *the Prince* deſtroy'd, and as many as are in or going out of the City will ſuſtain great Miſchief, &c. Whether the Prieſt ought to reveal it? He anſwers in the *Negative*, and ſupports his Opinion by a Bull of *Pope Clement* VIII. againſt violating the Seal of Confeſſion. This being publiſh'd, ſo *near England*, as *Lovain*, and *ſo near the Time*, when the Train was laying, ſhows it *was then* in their Thoughts. To uſe the Words of *Biſhop Burnet*, who alſo relates this Paſſage: *Pope Paul* is ſuppoſed not only to know of this Deſign, but to prepare a Jubilee for it, by an expreſs Bull dated at *Rome*, 1605. entitl'd, *Indictio Jubilei, ad Divinam opem implorandam, pro*

ſurd to ſuppoſe, ſince ſo many were hang'd for it, confeſſing the Fact, and were applauded as Saints and Martyrs amongſt their Brethren; but the King might make uſe of this Contrivance, the better to conceal the Notice of the Conſpiracy he might have from *Henry* IV. of *France*. In the Duke of *Sully*'s Memoirs, there is more than once mention of ſome *ſudden Blow* they intended in *England* about that Time; and in one Letter King *James* is deſir'd to take Warning from the Fate of *Henry* III. and it ſeems in an Harangue pronounc'd at *Rome* in Praiſe of *Ravilliack* the Aſſaſſin of *Henry* IV. 'tis there ſaid, that he (*Henry* IV.) was not only an inveterate Enemy to the Catholick Religion in his Heart, but had obſtructed the glorious Enterprizes of thoſe that would have reſtor'd it in *England* *, and occaſion'd them to be crown'd with Martyrdom (referring no Queſtion to the Execution of theſe Traitors.)

THE Nation having eſcap'd this Stroke which aim'd at all Root and Branch, it was

K. *James* himſelf a Plotter, betraying the Religion and Liberties of his Country.

pro præſentibus Neceſſitatibus: And one Reaſon for timing the Year 1605. for the Year of Jubilee was, *Impios Hæreticorum Errores undique evellere.* ——— But methinks it might put this Matter out of all Doubt, that ſome of the Conſpirators owned and even gloried in the Undertaking. *Dr. Tillotſon* ſays of *Sir Everard Digby*, (whoſe Original Papers and Letters were then in the Doctor's Hands) that after he was in Priſon, and knew he muſt ſuffer, *he calls it the beſt Cauſe*, and was extreamly troubled to hear it cenſur'd by Catholicks and Prieſts as a great Sin, contrary to his Expectation: Let me tell you, ſays he, what a Grief it is, to hear that ſo much condemn'd, which I did believe would have been otherwiſe thought of by Catholicks. He concludes this Letter thus; How full of Joy ſhould I die, if I could do any Thing *for the Cauſe*, which I love more than my Life! As to the Point of involving thoſe of his Religion in the ſame Deſtruction, he ſays, he could have offer'd ſomething to mitigate the Odium of that, but adds he does not think there would have been *three worth the ſaving*, that would have been loſt. Dr. *Tillot.* Serm. *Nov.* 5. 1678.

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. II. p. 675.

no more aſſaulted in that violent Manner during the Reign of King *James*, and yet was often expos'd, and the Cauſe of the Reformation not a little endanger'd by the unaccountable Conduct of that Prince, whom ſome by a Figure, I ſuppoſe, call'd the *Solomon of the Age*. That this may appear, it will be neceſſary to conſider his Management in a few Inſtances, and I ſhall begin with his *Popiſh Alliance*, which he ſo induſtriouſly ſought, and which indeed laid the Foundation of the greateſt Part of our Miſeries ever ſince.

HE firſt treats about a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, for his Son Prince *Charles*; to which Purpoſe he ſends over the Earl of *Briſtol*, and afterwards *Buckingham*, to negotiate the Matter, and with him the Prince himſelf; a Piece of Conduct that ſurpriz'd every Body, and that none but King *James* could have been capable of. This Treaty was a mighty Reviving to the Catholick Cauſe, ſtrangely embolden'd the Popiſh Recuſants, and increas'd their Number *, as was complain'd of in a Petition and Remonſtrance of the Commons to the King, *Anno* 1621.

K. *James* treats with *Spain* about a Match for Prince *Charles*.

WHILST the Prince was in *Spain*, all imaginable Endeavours were us'd to pervert him in Religion, and perſuade him to turn Catholick, ſuggeſting how acceptable this would make him to the *Infanta*; and when the Danger of it was objected by the Prince and his Miniſters, that the Nation (*England*) would not bear it, they promiſe to aſſiſt him with an Army againſt ſuch rebellious People; and to forward the Matter, the Pope himſelf writes a ſmooth Letter to him, wherein he puts him in Mind of his re-

* *Ruſhworth*'s Collection, Vol. I. p. 40.

nown'd

nown'd Anceſtors, and their Zeal for Holy Church †, exhorts him to an Emulation, and particularly takes Notice of his Journey into *Spain* to the Catholick King, with Deſign to ally himſelf to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he commends; and is willing to conclude from thence, that the antient Seeds of Chriſtian Piety, which ſo happily flouriſh'd in the Hearts of the Kings of *Great Britain*, may revive again in his Soul; adding, that 'tis not to be believ'd that he who lov'd ſuch an Alliance ſhould hate the Catholick Religion, and therefore that he commanded continual Prayers to be made for his Converſion, that he might defend the Authority of the Sovereign High-Prieſt, and fight againſt the Monſters of Hereſy; telling him, the Arms of the Church ſtand open to receive him, and that they beſeech, with unſpeakable Sighs and Groans, the God of all Mercy for his Salvation; and that for the Comfort of the Chriſtian World, he might put the Prince of the Apoſtles in Poſſeſſion of his moſt noble Iſland; and that he and his Royal Father might be ſtil'd the Deliverers and Reſtorers of the antient paternal Religion of *Great Britain*. (Dated from the Palace of St. *Peter*, the 20th of *April*, 1623.)

THE Prince returns the Civility of this Letter in one to the Pope in the following Strain: "*Moſt Holy Father*, I received the Diſpatch "from your *Holineſs*, with that Reſpect which "the Piety, with which your *Holineſs* writes, "does require *. I do believe that your *Holi*"*neſs* hath ſet the Examples of the Kings my "Predeceſſors before my Eyes, that I might "imitate them; for in Truth they have often "expos'd their Eſtates and Lives for the Exal-

The Prince's, afterwards K. *Charles* I. Letter to the Pope.

† *Wilſon* in the Compleat Hiſt. of *England*. * Ibid. *f.* 767.

" tation of the *Holy Chair:* And the Courage
" with which they have aſſaulted the Enemies
" of the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, hath not been
" leſs than the Care and Thought which I have."
He adds a little after: " And I do not eſteem
" it a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo
" Great Princes, than to imitate them in the
" Zeal of their Piety; in which it helps me
" very much to have known the Mind and
" Will of our *thrice-honour'd Lord and Father,*
" and the holy Intentions of his Catholick
" Majeſty, to give a happy Concurrence to ſo
" laudable a Deſign (the Uniting Chriſtian
" Princes) for it grieves him extreamly to ſee
" the Evils that grow from their Diviſions,
" which the Wiſdom of your Holineſs foreſaw,
" when it judg'd the Marriage which you pleas'd
" to deſign between the *Infanta* of *Spain* and
" my ſelf, neceſſary to procure *ſo great a Good*;
" for 'tis very certain, I ſhall never be ſo ex-
" treamly affectionate to any thing in the
" World, as to endeavour an Alliance with the
" Prince *that hath the ſame Apprehenſion of the*
" *true Religion with my ſelf.* Therefore I intreat
" your Holineſs to believe that I have always
" been far from encouraging Novelties, or to be
" a Partizan of any Faction againſt the Catho-
" lick, Apoſtolick, *Roman* Religion; and that
" I will employ my ſelf for the Time to come
Anno 1623. June 20. " to have but one Religion and one Faith; ha-
" ving reſolv'd with my ſelf to ſpare nothing I
" have in the World, neither Eſtate nor Life,
" for a thing ſo pleaſing unto God, *&c.* *"

THE

* *Ruſhworth* has publiſh'd this Letter (*p.* 82) from a Copy that varies from this in ſome Expreſſions; and ſome have queſtion'd the Genuineſs of the Letter itſelf: But this, I ſuppoſe, muſt be out of Tenderneſs to the Memory of the Writer. Nor can I think it ſtrange, conſidering the

THE Pope, after many Delays, grants a Diſpenſation; and the Marriage is at laſt agreed to between Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta*, upon ſundry Articles; particularly that it ſhould be made by Diſpenſation from the Pope; that it be celebrated in *Spain*, according to the Inſtructions of the Council of *Trent*; and afterwards in *England*, in ſuch a Manner as may make the Marriage valid according to the Law of the Land, if ſo be that no Ceremony nor other thing intervene which ſhall be contrary to the *Roman, Catholick, Apoſtolick Religion*: That the Children of this Marriage be not conſtrain'd in Matter of Religion, nor their Titles prejudic'd in Caſe they prove Catholicks: That the *Infanta*'s Family may be Catholicks, and have a † Place appropriated for all Divine Service according to the Uſe of the Church of *Rome*, and the Eccleſiaſtick and Religious Perſons may wear their proper Habits: That ſhe ſhall have a competent Number of Chaplains (twenty four Prieſts and Aſſiſtants) and a Confeſſor, being Strangers, one whereof ſhall have Power to govern the Family in Religious Matters: That it may be lawful for the Lady *Infanta* and her Servants to procure from *Rome* Diſpenſations, Indulgencies, Jubilees, and all ſuch Graces as ſhall ſeem fit to their Religion, *&c.* That the Laws which are or ſhall be in *England* againſt Religion ſhall not take hold of the ſaid Servants; and if any Secular Judge ſhall apprehend any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon for any Offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be deliver'd to the Superior Eccleſiaſtick,

Spaniſh Match.

the Humour the Prince and his Father were then in, and the Cauſe they had depending, he ſhould addreſs the Pope in this Stile.

† *Wilſon* ſays the Pope extended this Article thus: *Habeat etiam Eccleſiam publicam Londini*, That ſhe ſhould have a publick Church in *London*.

who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the Canon Law: That the Sons and Daughters which ſhall be born of this Marriage ſhall be brought up in the Company of the moſt Excellent *Infanta*, at leaſt until the Age of ten Years. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the Articles of that Marriage, which both the King and the Prince ſwore to; as they did afterwards to four private Articles, *viz.*

Terms of the Match in favour of the Papiſts,

(1.) THAT particular Laws made againſt the Roman Catholicks ſhall not at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution.

(2.) THAT no other Laws ſhall hereafter be made anew againſt the ſaid Roman Catholicks; but that there ſhould be a perpetual Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion within private Houſes thoughout *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

(3.) THAT neither by us or any other, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, will we attempt any thing with the moſt renowned Lady *Infanta*, which ſhall be repugnant to the Roman Catholick Religion.

(4.) THAT we and the Prince of *Wales* will interpoſe our Authority, and will do as much as in us lies, that the Parliament ſhall approve and ratify all and ſingular Articles in favour of the Roman Catholicks, capitulated by the moſt renown'd Kings, by reaſon of this Marriage; and that the ſaid Parliament ſhall revoke and abrogate particular Laws made againſt the ſaid *Roman Catholicks*; and that hereafter we will not conſent that the ſaid Parliament ſhall ever enact any new Laws againſt Roman Catholicks.

AND thus this incautious Prince * laid the Foundation of the greateſt Miſchiefs both to his

* Ibid. p. 89.

Family

Family and to his Subjects, for which he was ſeverely cenſur'd both at Home and Abroad. "The People of *England* (ſays *Eachard* *) e- "qually hating the *Spaniards* and the Popiſh "Religion, were irreconcileably averſe to the "Marriage, and would have bought it off at "the deareſt Rate; and, as far as they durſt, "oppos'd it by Speeches, Counſels, Wiſhes and "Prayers; but if any ſpoke louder than the "reſt, he was ſilenc'd or check'd; whenas in "*Spain* and in *Flanders*, Books and Pictures "were publiſh'd to expoſe both King and State; "for which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in vain "ſought for Satisfaction."

Abp. *Abbot* with great Faithfulneſs oppoſes the Match.

ARCHBISHOP *Abbot* with great Faithfulneſs remonſtrates againſt the King's Meaſures, in a Letter to himſelf, in which he tells him he had been too long ſilent, and had neglected the Duty of his Place, and now begs Leave to diſcharge his Conſcience to God, and his Duty to his Majeſty: He tells him he labour'd to ſet up the moſt damnable, heretical Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; And how hateful, ſays he, will it be to God, and how grievous to his good Subjects, that his Majeſty, who hath ſo often diſputed, and learnedly written againſt theſe wicked Hereſies, ſhould now ſhew himſelf a Patron of them? He further tells him, That he had ſent his Son into *Spain* without the Conſent of his Council, the Privity and Approbation of his People; an Action dangerous to himſelf, and deſperate to his Kingdom: Beſides, this Toleration could not be done without a Parliament, by his Declaration alone; unleſs his Majeſty would let his People ſee, that he would take a Liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land

* Hiſtory of *England*, p. 947.

at Pleaſure. And having beſeech'd his Majeſty to conſider the dreadful Conſequences of theſe Things, he concludes: Thus, in Diſcharge of my Duty towards God and your Majeſty, I have taken humble Boldneſs to deliver my Conſcience; *And now, Sir, do with me what you pleaſe.*

BUT this was without Effect. "His Deſires "were ſo heightned to the Heats of *Spain*, ſays "*Wilſon* *, that he would liſten to nothing, and "almoſt yield to any thing rather than not en-"joy his own Humour; divers of his intimate "Council, affecting Popery, urg'd him to a "Toleration, inſinuating that Catholicks were "the King's beſt Subjects, the Puritans being "the greateſt Diſturbers of the Royal Peace, "intrenching too boldly upon the Pregorative: "And why ſhould not the Catholicks (ſay they) "be permitted in *England*, as well as the Pro-"teſtants are in *France?* That their Religion "was full of Love and Charity, when they could "enjoy it with Freedom, *&c.*" And tho' e-nough was anſwer'd to theſe Pretences, the King was ſo intent upon his great Point (the *Spaniſh* Alliance) that he ſtops his Ears, and reſolves to go forward. And thus, ſays *Wilſon*, did our *Solomon* in his latter Time (tho' 'twas ſaid of him, he had fought with the *Beaſts at Epheſus*) incline a little too much to the *Beaſt at Rome.*

THE Conſequences of this Treaty were ſuch as ſufficiently rebuked the Folly that appear'd in it: It fill'd the Nation with Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits; brought over the Titular Biſhop of *Calcedon* to exerciſe Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over the Catholicks of this Kingdom; it loſt King *James* the Love of his Subjects, and expos'd

* Compleat Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. II. p. 768.

him

him to the Contempt of his Enemies: To this he not only ſacrificed his own Honour, but the Life of that excellent Perſon Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: Nay, to this he ſacrificed the Palatinate, and the Intereſt of his Family there. *Wellwood* from *Spanheim* tells us, that when ſeveral Princes were for entring into a League for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* †, and the *Houſe of Auſtria* was beginning to doubt the Succeſs, *Gondomer* play'd his Engine to break their Meaſures, by propoſing a Match with the *Infanta* of *Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the eaſieſt and ſureſt Way to reſtore the *Palatine* Family; which, like all the reſt, was only to amuſe King *James*, and was equally unſucceſsful. He adds, it was too long to give the Detail of King *James*'s Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a Piece. The Author ſums up the Ills that attended it in this: "That thereby the Proteſtant Religion "was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*; the Elec- "toral Dignity tranſter'd from the *Palatine* Fa- "mily; the *Palatinate* itſelf loſt; the Liberty "of *Germany* overthrown; and, which he men- "tions with a ſenſible Regret, the famous Li- "brary of *Heidelberg* was carried to *Rome*, to "the irreparable Prejudice of Learning: So "that *Gondomer* had good Reaſon to ſay in one "of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, that he "had lull'd King *James* ſo faſt aſleep, that he "hop'd neither the Cries of his Daughter nor "her Children, nor the repeated Solicitations "of his Parliament and Subjects in their Behalf "ſhould be able to awaken him."

BUT notwithſtanding all the Zeal the King and the Prince ſhow'd in this Matter, and the ſtrange Conceſſions made with reference to Re-

† Memoirs, p. 22.

ligion,

ligion, againſt the Remonſtrances of the Parliament and Complaints of the People, the whole miſcarried and came to nothing; ſo that the King was ſtill to ſeek for a Wife for his Son, and the Lady *Henrietta Maria* of *France* being propos'd by *Buckingham* (who was Dictator to the King, and in his Council at that Time) the King eagerly purſues it, and forthwith ſends the Lord *Kenſington*, newly made Earl of *Holland*, to feel the Pulſe of the *French* King; who, after he had continu'd at that Court a Month, began to ſpeak of the great Affair he came about; which as ſoon as it was propos'd to Monſieur, it appear'd ſo acceptable to him, that he told the Earl he had rather have the Prince of *England* to be his Brother than any other Man in the World, "And was ſo ready to comply *, "that he ſeem'd indifferent in making Terms "for the Catholicks in *England*: But when he "found King *James*, who dreaded a ſecond "Diſappointment, to be immeaſurably fond of "this Alliance, he abated of his Forwardneſs, "enlarg'd his Demands in Favour of Papiſts, "and ſtrain'd the King to ſuch Conceſſions, as "he had promis'd to his Parliament he would "never grant upon the Mediation of Foreign "Princes.

French Match.

"THE Famous Cardinal *Richlieu* was the "principal Manager of this Affair in Behalf of "*France*, and the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* "in Behalf of *England*: Theſe repreſented to "the Cardinal, that the Propoſition they made "of a Marriage being no new thing, ſince it "had been treated of many Years before to "marry the Prince of *Wales* with Madam *Chriſtiana*, who was afterwards married to the

* *Eachard's* Hiſt. of *England*, p. 974.

Prince

"Prince of *Piedmont*: They had nothing now "to do, but to reſume the Articles already "made, and to continue on the ſame Foot with "the Lady *Henrietta*; but the *French* anſwer'd, "That the Face of Affairs was changed ſince "that Time, and that they had different "Thoughts at preſent: That 'twas the King "of *England*'s Intereſt to preſerve the Reputa-"tion of the *French* King in this Marriage: "That at preſent they could not be contented "with what they had formerly offer'd about "Religion, after what had happen'd in *Spain*, "when there was a Treaty of Marriage between "the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta*; urging, "that 'twas neceſſary to begin the Negotiation, "by laying thoſe Articles upon the Table, which "the King of *Great Britain* had agreed with "*Spain* upon that Occaſion."

THE *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, it ſeems, objected againſt their Demands; but the *French* perſiſted in them, repreſenting it would do great Service to the King of *England*, by uniting to his Party all the *Engliſh* Catholicks, who would oppoſe themſelves to the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians*, by whom the King was not truly belov'd: And upon theſe and ſuch like Reaſons the *Engliſh* comply'd. *Eachard* ſays the Embaſſadors would not conſent to grant the publick Church to the Papiſts, as had been ſtipulated in the Treaty with *Spain*, alleging it would endanger a Mutiny in *London*: Tho' *Coke* † affirms that the Cardinal would not abate one Jot of the Articles of Religion and Liberty to the *Popiſh Recuſants*, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; nay, he rais'd them higher, urging it was but fit that his Maſter, who was eldeſt Son of the Church, ſhould

† Detection of the Court of *England*, Vol. I. p. 191.

not

not abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholick King.

THE Marriage was at laſt concluded upon*, and the Articles ſign'd by King *James*, *May* 11, 1625. and beſides the general, three private Articles were agreed to in favour of the Papiſts, *viz.* that the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, impriſon'd ſince the laſt Proclamation, which follow'd the Breach with *Spain*, ſhould all be ſet at Liberty: That the *Engliſh* Catholicks ſhould no more be ſearch'd after, nor moleſted for their Religion: That the Goods of the Catholicks, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, that were ſeiz'd on ſince the foremention'd Proclamation, ſhould be reſtor'd to them. Indeed *Nalſon* queſtions the Truth of theſe Articles; but the *French* Author of Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Life in effect declares as much as *Ruſhworth*; namely, that the King and Prince took an Oath to releaſe all the Catholick Priſoners as ſoon as the Marriage was conſummated; to prohibit for the future their ill Treatment, for their Religion; and further, that they both gave a Promiſe in Writing not to oblige the Princeſs to change her Religion. The Wiſdom and Religion of this Treaty has been ſufficiently known and felt in *England* ſince that Time, and needs no Comment. The *French* Author mention'd before ſays, "It was againſt all the Maxims of "good Policy; it drew upon his Son King "*Charles* thoſe Miſchiefs, which perhaps, never "befel any King ſucceeding to an Hereditary "Crown." He adds, "His Sons born of that "Marriage, and ſeduc'd by their Mother's Per-"ſuaſions, have been moſt unfortunate ſince "his Death; and ſeveral were of Opinion that

* *Ruſhworth's* Hiſt. Collect. *Vol.* I. *p.* 169.

"Car-

"Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was then contriving "a War againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent this "Princeſs into *England* as a Ball of Diſſention, "that would create ſo much Trouble in the "Nation as would incapacitate them from di-"ſturbing their Neighbours Affairs.*" It was indeed the Source and Spring-head of all our Miſeries; nor can I think it any Raſhneſs to ſay, This old and experienc'd King (as he uſed often to ſtile himſelf) did by this ſingle Act more to overturn the Reformation, and ruin his Country, than ever he did by all the Actions of his Life to ſupport either.

As a natural Conſequence of this new Alliance, great Favour is ſhown to the Papiſts; while the Match formerly with *Spain* was depending, the Priſons were open'd to Popiſh Recuſants; Prieſts and Jeſuits walk about at Noon-Day (and we may be ſure as much would be expected now.) *Gondomer* vaunts that his Interceſſion had releaſed four Thouſand: Nay, the King, the better to convince his dear Allies of his Readineſs to comply with them in theſe Things, requires the *Lord-Keeper* to paſs Writs under the Broad Seal, enjoining the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge *the Recuſants*, that were Priſoners for any Church Recuſancy whatſoever, or refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, or diſpoſing of Popiſh Books, or hearing or ſaying of Maſs, or any other Point of Recuſancy, which doth concern Religion only: and tho' this was what he did, and what he ſolemnly ſtipulated to do, yet upon Occaſion we find him denying every Tittle of it. Thus in his Speech to his fourth Parliament, 1624. being blamed for encouraging a Toleration to Papiſts,

* Eaſhard, p. 997.

he

he declar'd, *as God ſhould judge him*, he never thought, nor ever in Words expreſs'd any Thing that favour'd it; only ſometimes, for ſpecial Reaſons, he did not ſo fully put the Laws in Execution againſt them; and upon the Parliament's petitioning that the Laws might be put in Execution againſt Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts, and other Orders of the Church of *Rome*; this Religious King proteſted before God, "That his Heart had bled when "he heard of the Increaſe of Popery *, and "that the Grief of it had been as Thorns in "his Eyes, and Pricks in his Side; and he ſo-"lemnly promiſes them, that upon no future "Occaſion of Marriage, or Treaty, he would "hearken to the Interceſſion of other Princes "to the Toleration of Catholicks." Which how true it is, with Reſpect to what was paſt, or what was to come, every one may judge: But 'tis known this King had Latitude of Conſcience enough to ſay any Thing, and had learn'd the Art of Diſſembling to ſuch Perfection, that he ſeem'd to make it his chief Qualification for Government; he would affirm or deny, proteſt and appeal to Heaven, when there was not one Word of Truth in what he ſaid.

K. *James* ſuſpected to incline to Popery.

NOR did he only connive at the Papiſts from Reaſons of State, but ſome have ſuſpected his *Indifferency* in Matters of Religion, and that he really had no very great Averſion to his *Mother's Faith*, had it been his Intereſt to have profeſs'd it. We have under his Name a very obliging Letter, wrote from *Scotland* to Pope *Clement* VIII. wherein he recommended to his Holineſs the Biſhop of *Vaiſon*, for a Cardinal's Hat: Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd of it,

* *Ruſhworth*, p. 116, 143.

expo-

expoſtulateth with him about it. The honeſt King after his Manner, deny'd the Knowledge of any ſuch Letter, with the ſolemneſt Oaths, ſignifying his Abhorrence of correſponding with the *Pope*, or giving him the Title of *Holineſs*; and the whole was charg'd on *Bellmerino*: Yet afterwards he made no Scruple to do both theſe in the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Match; and even when he came to *England*, in his firſt Speech to his Parliament, his Moderation carry'd him ſo far, as to call the Church of *Rome*, *a true Church*, and our *Mother-Church*; adding, "If "they would leave ſuch new and groſs Cor-"ruptions of theirs as themſelves can't main-"tain; he would for his Part be contented to "meet them in the mid Way, ſo that all "Novelties might be renounc'd on either "Side."

BUT the greateſt Step that ever he took was his Concern with the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, if we may believe the Account *Eachard** has publiſh'd of the Matter. He tells us, "That "whilſt the Treaty was depending about the "*French* Match, the ſaid Archbiſhop was ſent "over in Favour of the *Roman* Catholicks in "*England*, and to ſound King *James* about his "Thoughts of the *Romiſh* Religion: He comes "Incognito; but being diſcover'd by the Duke "of *Buckingham*, was told, that there was no "Occaſion for him to change his Name, or "conceal his Quality; for he ſhould receive "nothing but Honour, eſpecially from the King "his Maſter, who had a very particular Eſteem "for him: Soon after he introduc'd him to the "King, who receiv'd him ſo very graciouſly, "as immediately to releaſe the *Roman* Catho-

* Hiſtory of *England*, p. 975.

licks

" licks out of Priſon at his Motion, and to " permit him to adminiſter Confirmation to " what Catholicks he pleas'd, in the Houſe of " the *French* Embaſſador, whilſt the Doors were " open: Accordingly he confirm'd about ten " Thouſand in the Preſence of a great Con- " courſe of People at the Door, and in the " Street, at which many were offended and com- " plain'd, but were anſwer'd by *the King*, that " he did nothing contrary to his Pleaſure: The " Archbiſhop had ſeveral Conferences with the " King; in which his Majeſty teſtified his great " Deſire to be ally'd to *France*; and the other " inſiſted upon a Toleration, as the moſt effec- " tual Means to give Satisfaction to the Catho- " lick Princes; whereupon the King laying his " Hand upon the Biſhop's Hand, ſaid, *I plainly* " *ſee that you are a Perſon appointed by God, in* " *which I ought to confide, and reveal the Secrets of* " *my Heart.*

" AFTERWARDS he very freely acknow- " ledg'd to the Archbiſhop, the good Opinion " he had conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith; pro- " teſting to him, that during his Minority, his " Tutors having perceiv'd his Inclination to " that Religion, he ran great Hazards of being " aſſaſſinated: As to a Toleration, he profeſs'd " he had long deſign'd to grant it in his Domi- " nions, and for that very Purpoſe he intended " to ſummon an Aſſembly of Prelates, and o- " ther learned Men of *England*, together with " an equal Number of Foreigners, and upon " the Deciſions there made to found the ſame " Liberty; adding, that he had already deter- " min'd what Perſons ſhould be choſen among " the *Engliſh*; and that if the Aſſembly could " not meet at *Dover*, he would conſent that " it ſhould be holden at *Bolloign*; as ſoon as he

" ſhould

"ſhould be in a Condition to rely upon the "King of *France*, by Means of the intended "Marriage: And to procure theſe good Effects, "he thought convenient that after the Conſum- "mation of it, the *Archbiſhop* ſhould return in- "to *England*, under a Pretence of accompany- "ing the *Princeſs*; at which Time he would "deliver to him two Letters written with his "own Hand, one for the *French King*, another "for the *Pope*, containing his *ſerious Reſolutions*: "He would alſo give him a diſtinct Memorial, "concerning his Intention, which he would "ſign, that the *Archbiſhop* being furniſh'd with "theſe Diſpatches he ſhould go to *Rome*, under "Colour of viſiting the Apoſtolick See; there "to treat with the *Pope* alone, for whom he ſaid "he had *a great Reſpect and Affection*, ever ſince "he underſtood he had compos'd Verſes in his "Youth, of the violent Death of the Queen of "*Scotland*, his Mother, in Commendation of "her, and of the *Family of the Stewarts*; which "he ſhew'd to the *Archbiſhop*. He further de- "clar'd, that in Caſe the *Archbiſhop* return'd "from *Rome*, with the Approbation of his *Ho- "lineſs*, concerning the Convention, he would "Cauſe it forthwith to be aſſembled; where- "upon extraordinary and admirable Events "would enſue: But before he proceeded to diſ- "cover his Deſign, as to his own Perſon, he "would negotiate with the Proteſtant Princes "of *Germany*, and with the principal Puritan "Lords of *England* and *Scotland*, and promiſe "that all Things ſhould tend to a happy Con- "cluſion; *and to the great Advantage of the Ca- "tholick Church*". This, ſays the Archbiſhop, is the Subſtance of all the Diſcourſes, they had at ſeveral Times upon this Subject.

Monſieur *D' Ageat*, further tells us, "That "being ſatisfy'd as to all the Points in Contro- "verſy, the King wrote a long Letter to the "*Pope* by a Catholick Gentleman, his Subject; "whom he privately ſent to him on Purpoſe; "in which he acknowledg'd him, as *Vicar Ge-* "*neral of Jeſus Chriſt on Earth*, as the univerſal "Father of the Chriſtians; and the Chief of "all Catholicks; aſſuring him, that after he "had taken Care of thoſe Things, to which "he had agreed, he would *openly declare himſelf.* "In the mean time, he promis'd not to ſuffer "any Search to be made in his Kingdom after "Prieſts, that were ſent by his Holineſs or the "moſt Chriſtian King; provided they were not "*Jeſuits*, in whom he proteſted he could not "confide, for ſeveral Reaſons; principally be- "cauſe he accounted them the Authors of the "*Gunpowder-Treaſon*. In his Letter, among o- "ther Things, he intreated the *Pope* to vouch- "ſafe, that the Goods of the Church that were "entred into the Patrimony of the principal "Families in *England*, ſhould not be taken from "them; but that they ſhould be permitted ſtill "to enjoy them; becauſe otherwiſe great Trou- "bles and Commotions would enſue. He affir- "med moreover, that nothing ſhould hinder "him from making a *publick Profeſſion* of the "Catholick Religion, at this Time; but the "Deſire he had to gain the King of *Denmark*, "his Brother-in-Law, whom he had for that "End, tho' under another Pretence, ſolicited "to come over into *England*, that by doing "this, he ſhould be able to eſtabliſh Peace in his "own Dominions; which otherwiſe could "hardly be maintain'd. The Duke of *Bucking-* "*ham* and the Gentleman he ſent to *Rome*, were "the only two Subjects, to whom he commu-

nicated

"nicated theſe Intentions. The Duke had pro-
"mis'd to follow him; and had made a con-
"ſiderable Progreſs in the Affair; but all theſe
"remarkable Deſigns, were made void by the
"Death of the King of *England*, not long af-
"ter; at which the *French* King declaring the
"News to the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, expreſs'd
"a very ſenſible Regret, in theſe Words; *All*
"*our Hopes of* England *are loſt*". Thus far, ſays *Eachard*, the two *French* Authors; and ſo leaves the Credit of the Narrative, to the Judgment of the Reader.

WHETHER King *James* ſpoke all this or not; or if he ſpoke it, whether it was only a Copy of his Countenance, pretended purely to ſerve a preſent Turn, is what I ſhall not preſume to determine. But this I think is certain, let his real Principles be as they will (*and God has judg'd him*) his Conduct in theſe Matters, gave that Blow to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Britain*, that it has never fully recover'd to this Day.

K. *James* ſets up arbitrary Power.

BUT this was not the only Inſtance, in which he invaded or betray'd the Liberties, and indangered the Religion of his Kingdom, I may juſtly add to it, as pretty much of the ſame Nature and Tendency, *his Graſping at Arbitrary Power*; an Inclination to which, he diſcover'd thro' the whole of his Reign. It has been obſerv'd, and not without good Reaſon, that tho' he made himſelf mean and contemptible to all the World abroad, he affected to ſwagger over his Parliaments and People at Home; which he did in a Manner that was far from making, or ſhowing him great. With how much overbearing Majeſty did he treat his Parliament, upon Occaſion of the Remonſtrance they prepared touching the *Spaniſh* Match? The King

hearing of it, before it was preſented, inſtantly diſpatches a Letter to Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, to forbid them to ſend it; in which he complains, "That ſome fiery and popular Spirits had been "emboldened to debate publickly of Matters "*far above their Reach*, and Capacity; tending "to our high Diſhonour, and Breach of Pre-"rogative Royal: Adding, Theſe are there-"fore to command you to make known in our "Name, unto the Houſe, that none therein, "ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any "Thing concerning our Goverment, or deep "Matters of State, and namely not to deal "with our deareſt Son's Match with the "Daughter of *Spain*, nor to touch the Ho-"nour of that King; nor any other of our Con-"federates, and alſo not to meddle with any "Man's Particulars, which have their due "Motion in our ordinary Courts of Juſtice; and "you ſhall reſolve them in *our Name*, that we "think ourſelves able to puniſh any Man's "Miſdemeanors, in Parliament as well during "their Sitting, as after, which we mean not "to ſpare hereafter, upon any Occaſion of any "Man's inſolent Behaviour there.

AND when the Commons had ſent a humble Supplication, and Petition in Anſwer to this threatning Meſſage from his Majeſty; where-in they make the utmoſt Submiſſion (tho' at the ſame Time, plead for the antient Liberty of Parliaments, and Liberty of Speech, as their undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from their Anceſtors) the King anſwers them with ſome Severity of Stile, and puts them in Mind (*ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*) that the Cob-ler muſt not go beyond his Laſt, telling them they had medled with Things above their Sphere; and whereas they had mention'd their antient

and

and undoubted Right of Inheritance, he tells them, he could have wiſh'd they had rather ſaid, *that their Privileges were deriv'd from the Grace and Permiſſion of his Anceſtors and himſelf*; Implying that the "very Being and all the "Rights of Parliament, were precarious, and "depended upon the meer Favour of the Prince.

Bancroft, and the inferior Clergy, own the King's Abſolute Power.

NOR were there wanting ſome to hold the King's Stirrup, whilſt he was mounting, he found among the Clergy a ſet of Men after his own Heart, that fell in with his arbitrary Humour: To which Purpoſe ſerv'd the twenty five Articles exhibited by *Bancroft*, and others in the Name of all the Clergy in *England*; call'd *Articuli Cleri*, the Articles of the Clergy; here, ſays *Coke* *, they aſcrib'd an abſolute Power to the King, and ſtruck directly at the Conſtitution of Parliament; and ſome Years after, *Bancroft* repeated his Articles (they having been before objected againſt by the Judges) and another of the Party (Dr. *Cowel*) publiſh'd a Book which he called his *Interpreter*, wherein he maintains theſe three Principles, *Firſt*, That the King was *ſolutus à Legibus*, not bound by his Coronation-Oath. *Secondly*, That it was not from any Neceſſity, that the King ſhould call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it by his abſolute Power. *Thirdly*, It was a Favour to admit the Conſent of the Subjects in giving Subſidies. *Cowel's Interpreter*, was not only printed, ſays my Author †, but publickly ſold with Impunity; and this gave Encouragement for the publiſhing many others to the ſame Purpoſe, among which *Blackwood* publiſh'd one, which concluded *that we were all Slaves by Reaſon of the Conqueſt.*

K. James raiſes Money, by his Prerogative.

NOR did he only talk for abſolute Power, but he was for exerciſing it: He was too much a

* Detection, Vol. I. p. 46. † Ibid. p. 50.

Philoſopher, not to know, *Quod fruſtra datur potentia, quæ non producitur in actum*; and therefore having fallen out with his Parliaments, and finding he could not get his Ends anſwered by them, he reſolves to ſupply himſelf by his Prerogative; to which Purpoſe he commands the Privy Council to iſſue out an Order for raiſing Money, for the Defence of the Palatinate; and alſo Letters to the Juſtices of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and Barons of the *Exchequer*, to move them and perſuade others to a liberal Contribution, according to their Qualities and Abilities: Nevertheleſs if any Perſon ſhall thro' Obſtinacy or Diſaffection refuſe to contribute thereto proportionably to their Eſtates and Means, they are to certify their Names to the Council-Board.

LETTERS to the ſame Effect, were directed to the high Sheriffs of Counties, and Juſtices of Peace, and to the Mayors and Bailiffs of every City and Corporation within the Kingdom, requiring them to ſummon all before them of known Abilities, within their Juriſdictions, and to move them to a chearful Contribution according to their Fortunes; and to return Schedules of the Names of ſuch as ſhall contribute, and their Sums; that his Majeſty may take Notice of his Friends, and (to be ſure) ſet a Mark on others.

AND theſe were the Steps this *Pacifick King* took to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and enſlave his People; and tho' it is true, he met with ſome that had a better Senſe of Liberty, than tamely to yield up all to his Ambition, to whom Poſterity is not a little indebted; yet he did all he well could for ſubduing them; and I cannot but think 'tis to him we owe a great Part of what we have ſuffer'd, or been in Danger of with Reference to our Religion and Liberties, ever ſince.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The fatal Popiſh Match with France *conſummated. King* Charles I. *purſues the Maxims of his Father's Reign. Diſſolves his Parliaments, and raiſes Money without them. The Clergy fall in with theſe arbitrary Meaſures. The Parliament complain of Grievances in Civil and Religious Matters; upon which it was diſſolv'd, with a Threatning of no more Parliaments: Whereupon the Prerogative was uſed inſtead of Parliaments.* Laud's *furious Conduct in Church Matters. The Conſecration of St.* Catherine Creed *Church.* Laud's *Tenderneſs to the Papiſts, and Severity to the Puritans. His Ingratitude to Biſhop* Williams. *Puritans driven out of the Land. The Proſecution of* Prynn, Baſtwick *and* Burton. *Afternoon-Sermons and Catechiſing put down. Wakes defended, and Book of Sports reviv'd.* Scotch *Liturgy prepared. Read at* Edinburgh, *which occaſions great Diſturbance among the People. Book of Canons ſent to* Scotland. *A War breaks out between the King and the* Scots.

THE Maxims and Meaſures of the next Government (that of King *Charles* I.) were very much of a Piece with the former,

and borrow'd from thence. The Match with the Daughter of *France*, ſo near concluded by the Father, was conſummated by his Son the firſt Year of his Reign, and that upon the Plan King *James* had laid down, and which was mention'd before. 'Tis a juſt Reflection that we have in * Dr. *Kennet*, ſpeaking of a great Plague that was this Year; Which, ſays he, ſome reflecting on in the latter End of King *Charles* his Reign, have look'd upon as a very inauſpicious Omen; but others have thought that this Reign began with a greater Judgment in the King's Marriage with Popery and *France*, two Evils, with which the Intereſt of this Church and State could bear no Alliance: He adds, conſidering the Malignity of Popiſh Religion, the Imperiouſneſs of *French* Government, the Influence of a ſtately Queen upon an affectionate Husband, and the Share ſhe muſt have in the Education of her Children, 'twas eaſy to foreſee that this unequal Match might prove very fatal to our *Engliſh* Prince and People, and lay in a Vengeance to future Generations: Which, alas! the Nation found true by woful Experience.

K. *Charles*'s Match with *France*, conſummated.

THE King no ſooner enters upon his Government, but he preſently ſhew'd he inherited more from his Father than his Crown; which appear'd particularly in the little Confidence he had in his Parliaments, and his Manner of treating them; his precipitate diſſolving of them, *&c.* wherein he ſeem'd induſtriouſly to copy after his Father's Example, and tread in his Steps; tho' 'tis ſaid, King *James* ſaw his Miſtake herein before he died, and caution'd his Son not to ſplit upon the ſame Rock.

K. *Charles* treads in his Father's Steps.

* Compleat Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 14.

HE diſſolves his firſt Parliament the firſt Year of his Reign. It ſeems they began with a Complaint of Grievances, which wanted Redreſs, and particularly ſtruck at *Buckingham*, whom they look'd upon as an Enemy to the Nation, and Author of the moſt dangerous Counſels; and whereas the King had taken a *Papiſt* into his Boſom (whoſe Influence they fear'd) they now had a more jealous Eye than ever upon the *Papiſts*, and petition that the Laws may be executed againſt them. And when their Grievances were redreſs'd in theſe and ſuch like Particulars, they ſhould be ready to grant his Majeſty any thing: The King on the other Hand inſiſts upon a preſent Supply, aſſuring them that afterwards he would be at leiſure to hearken to any of their Complaints; and 'tis eaſy to obſerve, that 'twas upon this Point very much that they differ'd all along; the Parliament would grant no Supply till their Grievances were firſt conſider'd. The King would ſay nothing to Grievances without a Supply, and ſo neither Side durſt truſt the other. Dr. *Kennet* * having recited a Declaration of this firſt Parliament, full of Affection to his Majeſty, obſerves, "That "if his Majeſty would have ſeem'd to have been "pleas'd with it, and would have commanded "*Buckingham* to have made his Peace with the "Commons, and would have promis'd a Re"dreſs of Civil Grievances, as graciouſly as he "anſwer'd the Complaints about Religion, and "ſo have comply'd with the Genius of the Na"tion, he might have made himſelf Safe at "Home, and very Conſiderable Abroad." But it happen'd, that he thought the Duke a neceſſary Inſtrument, by no Means to be laid aſide, and that nothing elſe ought to interrupt an im-

K. *Charles* diſſolves his firſt Parliament

* Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 10.

mediate

mediate Supply, and therefore diſſolves them ‖. "Which (ſays the ſame Author) left a deep "Impreſſion of Diſcontent upon the Minds of "the People, and created a Diffidence and Jea- "louſy between the King and ſucceeding Par- "liaments."

THE ſecond Parliament, which was call'd the ſame Year, was ſoon diſſolv'd, and that upon the like Reaſons with the former. It was of the worſt Conſequence, that the King in his Reply to an Anſwer of the Commons (which, Dr. *Kennet* ſays *, ſeem'd to be very reſpectful and ſincere) ſhould ſo roundly tell them, that he will not allow any of his Servants to be queſtion'd among them; and that if they did not haſten a Supply, it ſhould be worſe for them. This inflamed them to a great Degree, and occaſion'd loud Complaints of Grievances, which they reſolve to repreſent in a Petition to his Majeſty; but while they are preparing it, the King by Commiſſion diſſolves them, notwithſtanding a Petition from the Houſe of Lords againſt it.

K. *Charles* falls out with Parliaments.

NOR was this the worſt of it, he not only falls out with his Parliaments, but endeavours to make them them unneceſſary; and therefore like his Father, attempts unhappily to raiſe Money without them. My Lord *Clarendon* † ſays, "There was in this ſecond Parliament an "Intention of granting five Subſidies; and that "the Meeting being upon very unpopular and "unplauſible Reaſons, immediately diſſolv'd, "thoſe five Subſidies were exacted throughout "the whole Kingdom with the ſame Rigour, as "if an Act had paſs'd for that Purpoſe. Divers "Gentlemen of prime Quality in ſeveral Coun-

‖ *Auguſt* 12, 1625. * Ibid. *p.* 15. † Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, *Vol.* I. *p.* 5. 8vo.

"ties

"ties of *England* were, for refuſing to pay the "ſame, committed to Priſon with great Rigour "and extraordinary Circumſtances." Several of theſe petition'd, and gave Reaſons for their Refuſals; of which we have a particular Account in *Ruſhworth*.

WHAT Part ſome of the Clergy took at that Time, to encourage theſe illegal Proceedings, ſo much to the Diſhonour of the King, Grief of the Subject, and Danger of the Government, is well known, and may be ſeen at large in *Ruſhworth**. Dr. *Welwood* † gives this ſhort Account of the Matter: "Among other Means "(ſays he) of raiſing Money, that of *Loan* was "fallen upon, which met with great Difficulties, "and was generally taken to be illegal; one "*Sibthorp*, an obſcure Perſon, in a Sermon "preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Northampton*, would "make his Court by aſſerting, not only the "Lawfulneſs of this Way of impoſing Money "by *Loan*, but that 'twas the indiſpenſible Duty "of the Subject to comply with it. At the "ſame Time Dr. *Manwaring*, another Divine, "preach'd two Sermons before the King at "*White-Hall*, in which he advanc'd theſe Doc-"trines, *viz.* That the King is not bound to "obſerve the Laws of the Realm concerning "the Subjects Rights and Liberties, but that "his Royal Word and Command in impoſing "*Loans* and *Taxes* without Conſent of Parlia-"ment, does oblige the Subjects Conſcience upon "Pain of eternal Damnation: That thoſe who "refuſ'd to pay this *Loan* did offend againſt the "Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, "Diſloyalty and Rebellion; and that the Au-"thority of Parliaments is not neceſſary for

Sibthorp and *Manwaring* Advocates for arbitrary Power.

* Collections, *Part* I. *p.* 429. † *Page* 482.

"raiſing

"raiſing of Aids and Subſidies. Every Body "knew *Abbot* was averſe to ſuch Doctrines; and "to ſeek an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s "Sermon, with a Dedication to the King, was "ſent him by Order of his Majeſty to Licence. "*Abbot* refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in Wri- "ting; which Biſhop *Laud* anſwer'd, and with "his own Hand licenc'd both *Sibthorp*'s and "*Manwaring*'s Sermons: Upon this Archbiſhop "*Abbot* was confin'd to his Country-Houſe, and "ſuſpended from his Function; the Adminiſtra- "tion of which was committed to Biſhop *Laud*, "and ſome others of his Recommendation."

AFTER the King had parted with his ſecond Parliament, and had been ſhifting for himſelf as well as he could, the Neceſſity of his Affairs, and the Advice of ſome about him, prevail'd with him to call a third: To make Way for which, the Gentlemen confin'd for refuſing the *Loan-Money* were ſet at Liberty. Upon the Meeting of this Parliament a great many bold Speeches were made; "Nor could it be ima- Anno 1627. "gined (ſays my Lord *Clarendon* *) that thoſe "Men would meet again in a free Convention "of Parliament, without a ſharp and ſevere Parliament complain of Grievances. "Expoſtulation and Inquiſition into their own "Right, and the Power that had impos'd on "that Right." One main Thing they com- plain'd of was the *Loans*. "Let us not flatter "ourſelves, ſays Sir *Edward Coke* †; Who will "give Subſidies, if the King may impoſe what "he will? And if, after Parliament, the King "may inhaunce what he pleaſeth? I know the "King will not do it: He is a Religious King, "free from Perſonal Vices; but he deals with "other Mens Hands, and ſees with other Mens

* Vol. I. p. 5. † *Rushworth*'s Collect. p. 501.

"Eyes."

"Eyes." And having aſſerted that the King can't tax any by Way of *Loans*, he gives his Reaſons for it: To which Purpoſe he produces a *Noble Record*, as he calls it, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold. *It chears me* (ſays he) *to think of it ('tis the 25th of* Edward III.*) Loans againſt the Will of the Subject, are againſt Reaſon, and the Franchiſes of the Land: The Lord may tax his Villain high or low; but 'tis againſt the Franchiſes of the Land for Free-Men to be tax'd, but by their Conſent in Parliament.* He adds, *In* Magna Charta *'tis provided, that* Nullus Liber homo capiatur, vel Impriſonetur, aut Diſſeiſietur de Libero Tenemento ſuo, *&c.* niſi per Legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per Legem Terræ; *That no Free-Man ſhould be taken and impriſon'd, and diſpoſſeſs'd of his Freehold, but by the Law of the Land: Which Charter hath been confirm'd by good Kings above thirty Times.* To the ſame Purpoſe others of them complain, enlarging on this and ſuch like Grievances. *The Deputy-Lieutenants* (ſays Sir *Robert Philips*) *demand upon their Warrant ſuch a Sum of the People, telling them they muſt pay it, or be bound to their good Behaviour, and ſent up to the Lords of the Council: Which* (ſays he) *is the ſtrangeſt Engine to rend the Liberty of the Subject that ever was.*

NOR did they think the Danger of their Liberty greater than that of their Religion; and therefore you'll find their Expoſtulations as warm upon the one Head as the other. Thus Secretary *Coke*, in a Conference between the Lords and Commons, takes Notice of a Popiſh Hierarchy, eſtabliſh'd in Competition with that of the Proteſtants. *They have* (ſays he) *a Biſhop conſecrated by the Pope: This Biſhop hath his Subalternate Officers of all Kinds; as, Vicars-General, Arch-Deacons, Rural-Deans, &c. Neither are theſe*

Titular Officers, but they all execute their Juriſdictions, and make their ordinary Viſitations thro' the Kingdom, keep Courts, and determine Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes; and, which is an Argument of more Conſequence; they keep ordinary Intelligence by their Agents in Rome, *and hold Correſpondence with the Nuncio's and Cardinals both at* Bruſſels *and in* France: *Neither are the Seculars alone grown to this Heigth; but the Regulars are more active and dangerous, and have taken deep Root. They have already planted their Colleges and Societies of both Sexes: They have ſettled Revenues, Houſes, Libraries, Veſtments, and all other neceſſary Proviſions, to travel or ſtay at Home: They intend to hold a Concurrent Aſſembly with this Parliament.*

AND thus they went on with their Remonſtrances and Complaints, which ſo far diſguſted the Court, that ſoon after a Supply was granted, this Parliament alſo was diſſolv'd, and that with ſtrange Circumſtances of Paſſion on all Sides, and with a Declaration and Profeſſion ſays Lord *Clarendon, That ſince for ſeveral ill Ends the Calling again of a Parliament was divulg'd, however his Majeſty had ſhew'd by his frequent Meeting with his People, his Love to the Uſe of Parliaments; yet the late Abuſe having for the preſent driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that Courſe,* He ſhall account it Preſumption of any to preſcribe any Time to his Majeſty for Parliaments: *Which Words* (ſays he) *were generally interpreted, as if no more Aſſemblies of that Nature were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited upon Penalty of Cenſure, ſo much as to* ſpeak *of a Parliament.* The ſame Hiſtorian adds, *And here I can't but let my ſelf looſe to ſay, that no Man can ſhew me a Source from whence thoſe Waters of Bitterneſs we now taſte have more probably flow'd; than from thoſe unreaſonable, unskilful, and precipitate Diſſolutions of*

Parliaments

Parliaments. And having lamented this, and cenſur'd ſome Speeches made in the Houſe of Commons, as wanting due Reverence to his Majeſty and his Councils, he is pleas'd to add *, *I don't know any form'd Act of either Houſe (for neither the Remonſtrance nor Votes of the laſt Day were ſuch) that was not agreeable to the Wiſdom and Juſtice of great Courts upon theſe extraordinary Occaſions; and whoever conſiders the Acts of Power and Injuſtice of ſome of the Miniſters in thoſe Intervals of Parliament, will not be ſcandaliz'd at the Warmth and Vivacity of thoſe Meetings.*

THE King having thus taken Leave of his Parliament, and, as ſome were ready to ſuſpect, and as he himſelf ſeem'd to threaten, of Parliaments, he was forc'd to forſake the uſual, ſafe, and legal Method of raiſing Money; and inſtead thereof, aſſume a Power that did not conſiſt with the Conſtitution, and at laſt prov'd fatal to it. My Lord *Clarendon* owns ‡, that many unjuſt Projects of all Kinds (*viz.* for raiſing Money) many ridiculous, many ſcandalous, *all very grievous*, were ſet on Foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other Men. *Tonnage and Poundage* (ſays he) *and other Duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been poſitively refus'd to be ſettled by Act of Parliament; new and great Impoſitions laid upon Trade; obſolete Laws were reviv'd, and rigorouſly executed; as that concerning Knighthood, by which every one that had* 40 l. per Annum *in Rent, was oblig'd to come and receive the Order of Knighthood.* A Proclamation in the Year 1630. allow'd thoſe that would not purchaſe this Honour, to compound; upon Refuſal of which, many were proſecuted, to their

* Hiſtory of *England*, Lib. I. p. 5. ‡ Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Lib. I. p. 67.

very

very great Trouble and Charge. Another of theſe Devices was the Enlarging the Royal Forreſts beyond their antient Bounds; by Means of which, ſeveral Gentlemen had their Eſtates call'd in Queſtion, were ſeverely fin'd (on Pretence of encroaching upon his Majeſty's Forreſts) whoſe Families had been in the quiet Poſſeſſion for Hundreds of Years.

Ship-Money. BUT that which of all other was moſt ſcandalous and offenſive, tho' it turn'd to the beſt Account to his Majeſty (I mean brought in the greateſt Supply) was the Project of *Ship-Money*, which was a Tax laid upon the ſeveral Port-Towns, with the Aſſiſtance and Contribution of the Counties adjoining for the ſetting out Ships. The City of *London* was required to furniſh twenty Ships, with all Manner of Tackle, Sea-Stores and Ammunition; and when the Lord Mayor and Commonalty petitioned the Council for Abatement, they were told the former Command was neceſſary, and as it was given to all in general, and every Particular of the City; ſo the State will require an Account both of the City in general, and of every Particular; and whereas they mentioned Precedents, they were told the Precedents of former Times were *Obedience*, not *Direction*; and that Precedents were not wanting for the Puniſhment of thoſe that diſobey his Majeſty's Commands *. The Lord *Clarendon* gives a more particular Account of this Matter, which I ſhall ſubjoin. "A Writ, ſays he, was fram'd in a Form of "Law, and directed to the Sheriffs of every "County of *England* to provide a Ship of War "for the King's Service; and to ſend it amply "provided and fitted by ſuch a Day to ſuch

* *Ruſhworth*, Vol. I. Part 2. p. 416.

"a Place

" a Place; and with that Writ were ſent to " each Sheriff Inſtructions, that inſtead of a " Ship he ſhould levy upon his County ſuch a " Sum of Money, and return the ſame to the " Treaſurer of the Navy for his Majeſty's Uſe; " with Direction how he ſhould proceed againſt " ſuch as refuſed; by which Tax, for ſome " Years, there accrued the Yearly Sum of two " hundred thouſand Pounds to the King's " Coffers.

IT ſeems the Honour of this Project belongs to *Noy* the Attorney-General, who alledg'd in Vindication of it, " That when the Kingdom " is in imminent Danger, the King may raiſe " Money *by his own Authority*, without hazard- " ing its Ruin by attending tedious Formali- " ties in raiſing it otherwiſe; Which Caſe was afterwards, upon Mr. *Hambden*'s Refuſal to pay what was demanded of him, publickly urg'd with great Solemnity, before all the Judges in *England* in the Exchequer-Chamber, and by much the major Part of them, the King's Rights to impoſe aſſerted, and the Tax adjudged lawful †. But this was neither for the Judges Credit nor his Majeſty's Service. It cannot be expreſſed, ſays my Lord *Clarendon* ‖, what Damage and Miſchief the Crown ſuſtained by the deſerved Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges; by being made Uſe of in this and the like Acts of Power. There being no Poſſibility to preſerve the Dignity, Reverence, and Eſtimation of the Laws, but by the Integrity and Innocency of the Judges. He takes Notice in the foregoing Page, that the Preſſure of Ship Money, was born with much more Chearfulneſs before the Judgment for the *King*

† *Clarendon*, Lib. 1. p. 68. ‖ Lib. 1. p. 70.

(againſt *Hambden*) than ever it was after, many being willing to do ſomething they were not bound to, as a Teſtimony of their Affection to the King; expecting when they ſhould be weary, they might reſort to the Law for Relief, and find it: But when they heard this demanded in a Court of Law as a Right, and found it by ſworn Judges of the Law adjudged ſo, upon ſuch Grounds and Reaſons as every Stander-by was able to *ſwear was not Law*; and inſtead of giving, were required to pay, and by a Logic that left no Man any Thing he might call his own; they look'd upon it then (ſays he) the Caſe of the Kingdom, and thought themſelves *bound in Conſcience* to the publick Juſtice, not to ſubmit to it.

THE *Star-Chamber* and the *High-Commiſſion-Court* were a ſtanding Oppreſſion to the Nation. The ſame Great Hiſtorian laſt mention'd ſpeaking of theſe, particularly the *Star-Chamber* (with the Council) ſays, "For the better Support of "theſe extraordinary Ways, and to protect the "Agents and Inſtruments who muſt be employ'd "in them, and to ſuppreſs all Oppoſers, the "*Council-Table* and *Star-Chamber* enlarg'd their "Juriſdiction to a vaſt Extent, holding (as *Thucydides* ſaid of the *Athenians*) for honourable, "that which pleas'd; and for juſt, that which "profited; and being the ſame Perſons in ſeveral Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to "bring Money into the Treaſury: The *Council-Table* by Proclamations enjoyning to People "what was not enjoyn'd by Law, and prohibiting what was not prohibited; and the *Star-Chamber* cenſuring the Breach and Diſobedience to theſe Proclamations, by very great "Fines and Impriſonment: So that any Diſre-

"ſpect

"ſpect to any Acts of State, or to the Perſons "of Stateſmen, was in no Time more penal; "and thoſe Foundations of Right, by which "Men valu'd their Security, to the Apprehen-"ſion and Underſtanding of wiſe Men, never "more in danger to be deſtroy'd *." In ſhort, theſe Courts were a Sort of Inquiſitions, in which the beſt Subjects in the Nation were harraſs'd and tortur'd: An Emblem of which was *Wentworth*'s (afterwards Lord *Strafford*) Council in the North.

IT was indeed the grand Miſtake and ſpecial Infelicity of this Government, that the King encouraged thoſe about him, that drew him to neglect both Law and Parliaments; in which Service *Strafford* and *Laud* were ſuppos'd chief Inſtruments. It was witneſſed againſt *Strafford* at his Trial, that he ſhould ſay at *York* Aſſizes, That nothing could content ſome but Law; but they ſhould know, the *King's little Finger ſhould be heavier than the Loyns of the Law* †. And it ſeems the King was ſo far flatter'd into an Opinion of his Abſoluteneſs, that in Anſwer to the Commons Remonſtrance, *Anno* 1629. he expreſly tells them, *That he was not bound to give an Account of his Actions to any but God only*: And when it was told him, that his demanding *Ship-Money* was unpreſidented, he anſwer'd, *Preſidents were not wanting for the Puniſhment of them that diſobey the King's Commands.*

Laud's furious Conduct in the Affairs of the Church

BESIDES theſe manifeſt and groſs Invaſions upon the Civil Rights of the Subject, ſundry Steps were taken in the Conduct of the Church, and the Management of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, that not only diſguſted particular Perſons, but allarm'd the greateſt Part of the Nation. 'Tis

* *Clarendon*, Lib. 1. p. 68. † *Ruſhworth*, Part 2. p. 146.

known that Archbiſhop *Laud* was at the Head of theſe Affairs. He had ſo much the Aſcendant in the King's Council, that if the King in the Throne was greater than he, yet according to his Word was all the People rul'd. But alas! what a perfect *Phaeton* was he, driving the Chariot ſo furiouſly as to ſet all on Fire, or rather like the *Theoriſts* Tail of a Comet, deluging theſe poor Nations in Confuſion and Blood.

ONE notable Contrivance he had, which afterwards admirably ſerv'd his Purpoſe. He provided a Liſt of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons (which was preſented to the King by *Buckingham*) in two Columns, diſtinguiſh'd by the Letters *O* and *P*, the one ſtanding for Orthodox, the other for Puritan (the one being Elect, the other Reprobate) by which Means he hoped to bring the Church into good Hands, and furniſh himſelf with Tools to work by; and what Innovations, and indeed Deſolations, he made during his Pontificate, is too well known *. He commanded the Comunion Table to be ſet Altar-wiſe, to be rail'd in, requiring Perſons to † bow towards it; provided Candleſticks, Tapers, Copes for adminiſtring the Sacrament; had a large Crucifix over the High Altar; and in the Windows of his Chappel, the Picture of God himſelf, in the Form of an Old Man, with a Glory round about his Head.

AND ſo zealouſly intent was he about theſe Things, as if the Whole of Religion had lain in them; proſecuting all with the utmoſt Severity that ſhould refuſe to comply with his In-

* *Ruſhworth*, Part 1. p. 67.

† Among the Statutes he ſent down to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, which the Prebends and Chapter ſwore to, one was, That as they came in and out of the Quire they ſhould worſhip towards the Altar, *Adorare verſus Altare.*

junctions,

junctions, or withstand his Humour therein. Mr. *Cancey* Minister of *Ware* in *Hertfordshire*, was brought into the High-Commission, for opposing the making a Rail about the Communion Table in his Parish Church, and was there pronounc'd Guilty of Contempt of Ecclesiastical Government and of Schism, suspended from his Ministry, condemn'd in great Costs of Suit, and imprison'd till he paid the same, or recanted. Mr. *Sherfield*, Recorder of *Sarum*, and a Justice of Peace for the same City, fell under the like Discipline *. It seems he took Offence at a Picture in their Church, which was of God the Father, represented in a Window of painted Glass, as an Old Man in a Blue and Red Coat: To which some Old Women, when they pass'd by, were observ'd to pay their Respects; and being ask'd to whom they made their Courtesies, answer'd, *It was to their God in the Glass-Window.* Mr. *Sherfield* being justly offended at this foolish Superstition, mov'd the Parish at a Vestry that he might have Liberty to take away these offensive Pictures, and put up white Glass in the Room; which the Parishioners consent to, and the Thing is done: For which Fact this busy, presumptuous Reformer was call'd to an Account in the Star-Chamber, accus'd as being evil-affected to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and encouraging such as oppos'd its Government under the Reverend Bishops; representing that he had unlawfully, riotously, and *prophanely broke down that Glass-Window*, in scorn of his Majesty's Government; and in Conclusion, he was displac'd from being Recorder, fin'd Five Hundred Pounds, and bound to his Good-Behaviour †. Others were suspended and

* *Rushworth*, Part 2. p. 316. † Ibid. p. 153.

excommunicated for ſpeaking againſt Images and Crucifixes, as was Mr. *John Workman*, a Miniſter in *Glouceſter*; and whereas the Corporation had ſettled an Annuity of Twenty Pounds *per Annum* upon him, in Conſideration of his Diligence in Preaching and numerous Family, the Mayor and Aldermen were on this very Account proſecuted at the Council-Table and High-Commiſſion, and at laſt had a Fine impos'd upon 'em. Nay, it ſeems the angry Biſhop carried his Reſentment to ſuch an Height, that he would not ſuffer the poor Man ſo much as to teach School, or practiſe Phyſick, for the Support of his Wife and Children.

The Conſecration of St. Catharine Creed Church.

BUT that which made the greateſt Noiſe of all the reſt, and was thought by ſome to ſavour not a little of Popery, was the ſuperſtitious Manner of *Laud*'s Conſecrating *Catharine Creed Church* * in *London*, which I ſhall ſubjoyn in the Margin.

* St. *Catharine Creed Church* being lately repair'd, was ſuſpended from Divine Service, Sermons and Sacraments, till it was conſecrated; wherefore Dr. *Laud*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, on the 16th of *January*, being the Lord's-Day, came thither in the Morning to conſecrate the ſame. Now becauſe great Exceptions were taken at the Formality hereof, we will briefly relate the Manner of the Conſecration. At the Biſhop's Approach to the Weſt Door of the Church, ſome that were prepar'd for it cried with a loud Voice, *Open, open ye everlaſting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in*; and preſently the Doors were open'd, and the Biſhop, with ſome Doctors, and many other principal Men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms ſpread, utter'd theſe Words, *This Place is holy, this Ground is holy; In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, I pronounce it holy.* Then he threw up ſome of the Duſt into the Air ſeveral times. In his going up towards the Chancel, when they approach'd near to the Rail of the Communion Table, the Biſhop bow'd towards it ſeveral times; and returning, they went round the Church in Proceſſion, ſaying the 100th Pſalm, after that the 19th Pſalm; and then ſaid a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. and concluding, *We conſecrate this Church, and ſeparate it to thee as holy Ground, not to be prophan'd any more to common Uſe.* After this, the Biſhop being near the Communion Table, and taking a written Book in his Hand, pronounc'd Curſes upon

Margin. This being afterwards objected againſt him in Parliament, as an Evidence of his Inclination to introduce Popery: The Biſhop defends the Practice in general (of Conſecrating Churches) from the Example of *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, &c. and of *Conſtantine*: Maintain'd that he came to the Church, not in a pompous Manner (as was alleged) but only in a grave and ſeemly Manner: He grants he fell down upon his Knees; but that was no more than his Duty; for ſo did *Moſes* and *Aaron* at the Door of the Tabernacle: And for the Form of Conſecration, he ſaid Biſhop *Andrews* made it. And to the Objection, That the Form of Prayer he us'd was taken out of the *Maſs-Book* and *Roman Pontifical*, he reply'd, it may be ſo, and many other very good Prayers are in it. I don't ſay,

upon thoſe that ſhould afterwards prophane that Holy Place, by Muſters of Soldiers, or keeping prophane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the End of every Curſe he bowed towards the Eaſt, and ſaid, *Let all the People ſay* Amen. When the Curſes were ended, he pronounc'd a Number of Bleſſings upon all thoſe that had a Hand in framing or building of that ſacred and beautiful Church; and thoſe that had given or ſhould hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments or Utenſils: At the End of every Bleſſing he bowed towards the Eaſt, ſaying, *Let all the People ſay* Amen. After this follow'd the Sermon; which being ended, the Biſhop conſecrated and adminiſtred the Sacrament in Manner following: As he approach'd the Communion Table he made many lowly Bowings, and coming up to the Side of the Table, where the Bread and Wine were cover'd, *he bowed ſeven times*; and then, after the Reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up the Corner of the Napkin, wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, flew back a Step or two, bow'd three ſeveral times towards it: Then he drew near again, and open'd the Napkin, and bow'd as before. Then he laid his Hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it; which he let go again, went back, and bow'd thrice towards it: Then he came near again, and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, look'd into it, and ſeeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retir'd back, and bow'd as before: Then he receiv'd the Sacrament, and gave it to ſome principal Men. After which, many Prayers being ſaid, the Solemnity of the Conſecration ended. *Rushworth*, Part 2. p. 76.

that this proves *Laud* a full Papiſt, nor that he and thoſe that joyn'd with him in his ſtrange Meaſures, had any Purpoſe of introducing and ſetling entire Popery in the Nation; but I think one may ſay, with the Noble Lord *Falkland*, that they were for trying how much of a Papiſt might be brought in without Popery: He goes a little further indeed, and ſays it was as much as Fifteen Hundred Pounds a Year could hinder ſome of them from declaring themſelves directly Papiſts; and it ſeems, the Papiſts themſelves had ſo great an Opinion of *Laud*'s Diſpoſition towards them, that they twice offer'd him a Cardinal's Cap *, as he confeſſes in his Diary: Tho' after all, the Learned Book he wrote againſt *Fiſher*, ſhews he had a great deal to ſay againſt that Religion; and tho' he often ſet his Face ſo, as many thought he was bound for *Rome*, yet it may be he never deſign'd above half the Way.

Laud's Tenderneſs to the Papiſts.

IT exceedingly added to the Scandal of this Papizing, that whilſt as good Proteſtants and Churchmen as any in the Kingdom were Browbeaten, and torn to pieces in their Courts, if they could not keep Time, and dance after *Laud*'s Pipe, the Papiſts were treated with the utmoſt Tenderneſs, not to ſay hugg'd and careſs'd: None muſt be allow'd ſo much as to write againſt Popery; and if they preſum'd to do it, their Books were refus'd Licence; or if they ſtole into the World, the Authors were ſure to be call'd to an Account, and ſmart for it. Nay, at laſt an Order paſt in the Star-Chamber againſt reprinting any Books without a new Licence: Upon which, the *Books of Martyrs* could not get Leave to appear in the World, nor the

* *Nelſon*'s Collections.

Works

Works of *Jewel* and *Willet* in a new Impreſſion, nor even the *Practice of Piety*, tho' it had thirty ſix Editions, without ever being queſtion'd *. And it ſeems ſo full of Grace was this Doctor to the Catholicks, that he proſecuted Mr. *Gellibrand*, the Mathematical Profeſſor of *Greſham*-College, for publiſhing an *Almanack*, in which he inſerted the Names of Proteſtant Martyrs out of Mr. *Fox*'s Calendar, inſtead of thoſe pretended Saints whom the Pope had canoniz'd; and at the ſame Time his Chaplain made no Scruple to licence a ſcandalous Book, in which the *Firſt Reformers*, who ſeal'd their Religion with their Blood, were ſtigmatiz'd with the odious Names of *Traitors* and *Rebels*.

'TIS granted, that ſometimes the Papiſts had hard Words given 'em, and Proclamations were put forth againſt them; but they pretty well underſtood the Meaning of it, and were ſeldom either much affrighted, or much hurt. Dr. *Kennet* † owns, "That by the Intereſt of the "Queen, the King was often prevail'd upon to "grant Letters of Grace and Favour in Behalf "of the Papiſts, and to direct his Precepts in "the Courts of Juſtice; to ſtay all Proceedings "againſt them upon Indictment, Preſentment, "or Information, for Recuſancy; and even af"ter their Conviction, Letters of Protection "were ſent by the Secretaries of State to the "Judges of the Court, that their Penalties and "Fines ſhould not be eſtreated into the Exche"quer; many of the Privy-Council were indeed "ſuſpected to be inclining to Popery, and ſome "of them died in the *Romiſh* Religion, as the "Lord *Cottington*, and the Lord-Treaſurer "*Weſton*."

* *Ruſhworth*'s Collect. *Part* 2. *p.* 450. † Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p 70.

Laud's Severity to the Puritans.

IN the mean Time it increaſed the Scandal, as I ſaid, that Things were carried with ſuch an high Hand towards the ſtancheſt Proteſtants in the Nation, if they happen'd not to have Conſciences of *Laud's* Meaſure and Latitude. To call the Pope *Antichriſt*, oppoſe any of *Laud's* Innovations, or diſobey his arbitrary Injunctions, would bring a Man under the Odium of *Puritaniſm*, *Faction*, &c. and which is worſe, expoſe him to the mercileſs Diſcipline of the High-Commiſſion. Thus that of the Poet was again verified, and it may be never more than now:

Dat veniam Corvis, vexat Cenſura Columbas.

Dr. *Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was one of thoſe that fell under the Reſentment of this warm Prelate, tho' he had been a chief Inſtrument in his Promotion. It ſeems the Biſhop was not only inclin'd to ſhew ſome Mercy to the Puritans, of which he was accus'd by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp* (Crime enough to undo him) but he ventur'd to write a Book againſt the Innovations that *Laud* was making (A Book, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, full of good Learning, and that cloſely and ſolidly apply'd) For which, with ſome other * Offences, the greateſt of all, it may be, was his *not Bowing to Haman*, he was fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds to the King, ſuſpended by the High-Commiſſion from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions; and ſentenc'd to ſuffer Impriſonment during his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

Laud's Ingratitude to Biſhop *Williams*.

* This Biſhop had ſhewn himſelf againſt the Meaſures of the Court at that Time, and the Violences of *Laud*; and upon Occaſion, appear'd for the Privileges of the Subject, according to Law, which made him unacceptable. 'Tis ſaid, when the King began to frown on him, he ask'd the Earl of *Holland*, from whence the Diſpleaſure of the Court ſhould proceed: To which the Earl anſwer'd, He muſt expect worſe than being diſmiſs'd the Council, becauſe he was ſuch a Champion for the *Petition of Right*, and that there was no Room at the Table for them that lik'd it.

IT would be perfectly needless to say, that the Puritans or Nonconformists met with Severities; they were look'd upon by the governing Party of the Church, such Reprobates and Miscreants, that to crush them, was thought no more a Fault, than 'tis with the Papists to destroy Hereticks. The best Provision they could make for themselves ordinarily, was to transport themselves and Families into *New England*, which yet the Mercy of their Enemies would not always allow them to do; being unwilling, it seems, to lose their Prey.

ONE Thing further I can't but take Notice of referring to this Head, That whereas there were several *French* and *Dutch* Churches of Protestants receiv'd and cherish'd in this Nation, ever since the Beginning of the Reformation under *Edward* VI. the Archbishop violently assaults them, disturbs their Repose, and resolves to make them lay aside the Model of their own Worship, and conform to the Church of *England*, as he was forming it; to which Purpose he sends down his Injunctions to *Canterbury*, That all the Natives of the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Congregations in his Grace's Diocese, should repair to their several Parish-Churches, where they inhabited, to hear Divine Service and Sermons, and perform all Duties and Payments requir'd in that Behalf *; and tho' the Ministers, and others, that were not born Subjects to the King, were (by the King's interposing on their Behalf) allow'd their own Discipline, and to worship God in their own Way; yet 'twas injoyn'd, That the *English* Liturgy should be translated into *French* and *Dutch*, *for the better fitting their Children to the English Government*;

The *French* and *Dutch* Churches threatned and molested by *Laud*.

* Compleat History of *England*, Vol. III. p. 72.

by

by which he took from them the Liberty of bringing up their Children in their own Principles. They remonſtrate againſt theſe Hardſhips: He replies, 'That his Majeſty was 'reſolved the Injunctions ſhould be obey'd; 'and that he doubted not but they themſelves, 'or their Poſterity, would have Cauſe to thank 'both the State and the Church for this Care 'taken of them; but if they refus'd, he muſt 'then proceed againſt them as Natives, ac-'cording to the Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſti-'cal'.

Proſecution of *Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*.

ANOTHER famous Inſtance of the Moderation and Mercy of Biſhop *Laud*, and his Party, at that Time, I ſhall here ſubjoyn. Three noted Gentlemen of different Profeſſions, *Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton* (the firſt a Lawyer, the ſecond a Phyſician, the third a Divine) happned to incur the Diſpleaſure of the Government, and were proceeded againſt in the Star-Chamber. The Doctor's Offence was, writing a Book entitled, *Flagellum Pontificis & Epiſcoporum Latialium*, which was call'd, a Libel reflecting upon the Hierarchy of the Church. Mr. *Burton*'s Offence was, publiſhing a Sermon, preach'd the fifth of *November*, wherein he charged the Prelates, for introduciug ſeveral Innovations in Divine Worſhip. Mr. *Pryn* was the Arch-Offender, he publiſh'd a large Treatiſe call'd, *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, againſt Stage-Plays; 'Where, '(ſays Dr. *Kennet*, †) by very profuſe Collecti-'ons, he expos'd the Liberties of the Stage; 'and becauſe the Court became now more 'addicted to theſe ludicrous Entertainments; 'and the Queen herſelf was ſo fond of the A-'muſement, that ſhe bore the Part of a Paſtoral

† Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 62.

'in

'in her own Royal Perſon; therefore this Trea-
'tiſe againſt Plays was ſuppoſed to be levell'd
'againſt the Practices of the Court, and the
'Example of the Queen; and it was ſuppoſed
'an *Inuendo*, that in the Table of the Book this
'Reference was put, *Women-Actors Notorious*
'*Whores*; thereby, as was alledged, reflecting
'upon her Majeſty. The Attorney-General
'proſecuted *Pryn* for this Libel in the Star-
'Chamber, *Laud* being the Inſtrument and A-
'bettor of the Proceſs, by ſhewing the Book to
'the King, and pointing at the offenſive Parts
'of it, and by employing Dr. *Heylin* to pick
'out all the virulent Paſſages, and give the
'ſevereſt Turn unto them: And laſtly, by
'carrying thoſe Notes to the Atterney-Gene-
'ral for Matter of Information, and urging
'him earneſtly to proceed againſt the Author:
'Which though a Prelate might do (ſays the
'Doctor) with ſincere Intention to ſuppreſs
'Libelling, and to aſſert the Reſpect to
'Crowned Heads; yet 'twas look'd upon by
'ſome ſerious Men, as a giving Countenance
'to the Profaneneſs and Licentiouſneſs of the
'Stage; which ought rather to have been re-
'prov'd and reſtrain'd by a Chriſtian Biſhop.'

WELL, theſe were their Offences. The Sentence was, that they ſhould ſtand in the Pillory, and loſe their Ears at the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, ſhould pay a Fine of 5000 *l.* each to the King, and be impriſon'd during Life, which they were in three remote Places; one in the Caſtle of *Lanceſton* in *Cornwall*, another in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and the third in *Carnarvan*-Caſtle in *Wales* ‖; from whence they were afterwards removed to three Iſlands, and no Acceſs of Friends allow'd to them.

‖ Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 72.

I MUST

I MUST obſerve, as to *Pryn*, more Pains is taken to convict and puniſh him too than the reſt. The Attorney-General, in ſetting forth his Caſe in the Star-Chamber, takes Notice, that he had printed a Libellous Volume againſt Plays, Maſques, *&c.* altho' he knew, that his Majeſty's Royal Queen, Lords of the Council, *&c.* were, in their publick Feſtivals, and other Times, preſent Spectators of ſome Maſques and Dances, *&c.* yet, he had rail'd, not only againſt Stage-Plays, Comedies, Dancing, *&c.* but againſt Chriſtmas-keeping and May-Poles, *&c.* which, it ſeems, is thought ſo flagrant a Crime, as to deſerve a very heavy Puniſhment, *viz.* That his Book be burnt, that he himſelf be put from the Bar, be for ever uncapable of his Profeſſion; and becauſe he was bred at *Oxford*, there to be degraded (at the mentioning of *Oxford*, *Laud* ſays with a low Voice, *I am ſorry that* Oxford *ever bred ſuch a Member*): To which is to be added, the Loſs of both his Ears, with the Impriſonment and Fine before mentioned.

Afternoon-Sermons and Catechiſing put down by Arch-Bp. *Laud.*

NOR are they only watchful to obſerve what's printed and preach'd, but ſeem jealous of preaching itſelf; and therefore, as if they were afraid the People ſhould receive Damage that Way, a ſevere Order was publiſh'd by the Archbiſhop, for the putting down all Afternoon-Sermons, under Pretence of complying with his Majeſty's Inſtructions of Catechizing by Queſtion and Anſwer; and which one would think very peculiar, not only all other Catechiſms, except that in the Common-Prayer, were prohibited, but all Expoſitions even of this Catechiſm, which Biſhop *Wren* declar'd as bad as a Sermon. Not a few of the Miniſters were ſuſpended for diſobeying this Order: Dr. *Pierce*, Biſhop

Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Zeal againſt Afternoon-Sermons, and ſo effectually ſuppreſs'd the dangerous and ill Practice of preaching twice a Day, that he gave God Thanks, that he had not one Lecture left in all his Dioceſs. Mr. *Deveniſh*, Miniſter of *Bridgwater*, was ſuſpended by him, for preaching in the Lord's Day-Evening, tho' a Funeral-Sermon: And another was call'd to an Account, for having two Sermons in his Church on the Pariſh-Revel-Day; the Biſhop alledging, *That 'twas an Hindrance to the Revel, and to the Utterance of the Church-Ale.* Another of his Clergy (Mr. *Erford*) was ſummon'd for preaching on a Revel-Day, upon *Joel*'s Exhortation to Faſting, Weeping and Mourning, and was told, *That his very Text was ſcandalous to the Revel.* Nay, when ſome only enlarg'd on the Queſtions and Anſwers in the Church-Catechiſm, without attempting to preach, they were ſharply rebuk'd by their Dioceſan, and told, *It was Catechiſing Sermon-wiſe, and as bad as Preaching**.

BUT nothing was more offenſive to the ſobereſt Part of the Nation, than the infamous Book of Sports mention'd before, which was generally believ'd (and *Pryn* endeavours to prove againſt him at his Tryal) was contriv'd by Archbiſhop *Laud*. The immediate Occaſion of it ſeems to be this †; a Complaint being made concerning Ales and Revels upon the Wakes, or Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches in *Somerſetſhire*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Richardſon*, and Baron *Denham* in their Circuit in that Country, made the following Order:

* *Canterbury*'s Doom, p. 376, &c. † Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 66.

WHEREAS

WHEREAS divers Orders have been made heretofore by Judges of the Aſſize, for the Suppreſſion of all Ales and Revels; the ſame Order is now confirm'd at the Aſſizes, in regard of the infinite Number of Inconveniencies daily ariſing by Means of Revels (many having been indicted for murdering Baſtard-Children, begotten at Wakes and Revels.) It is again order'd by the Court, That ſuch Revels, Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, and all other publick Ales, be henceforth utterly ſuppreſſed; and to the End this may be obſerv'd, it is further order'd, that the Clerk of the Aſſizes ſhall leave Copies hereof with the Miniſters of every Pariſh within his ſeveral Hundred, and ſhall give a Note under his Hand, that he ſhall publiſh it yearly within the Pariſh, the firſt Sunday in February, *and likewiſe the ſecond Sunday before* Eaſter *yearly.*

Wakes defended by the Archbiſhop.

THE Archbiſhop took Fire at this, complain'd to the King of the Irregularity of the Judges, writes to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to know how theſe Feaſts were obſerv'd. The Biſhop anſwer'd, *That the ancient Cuſtom of thoſe Feaſts was laudable and innocent; that the late Suppreſſion was very unacceptable, and the Reſtitution of them would be grateful to the Clergy, Gentry, and common People.* Upon which, the Lord Chief Juſtice was reproved at the Council-Table, ſeverely check'd, and, as he expreſſes it, *almoſt choak'd with a Pair of Laun-Sleeves:* And, in Concluſion, was enjoyn'd publickly to revoke his own Order.

THE Gentlemen of that County, hearing of this, joyn'd in a Petition to his Majeſty, *That no Encouragement might be given to thoſe riotous and lewd Aſſemblies:* But *Laud* was nearer to the King every Way than they; and by his Intereſt with him prevailed, that inſtead of ſuppreſſing

preſſing Yearly Wakes, to have every Sunday, in Effect, turned into a Wake: Which was done, by reviving the Book of Sports, put forth in King *James*'s Time. Wherein it was declared, as his Majeſty's Pleaſure, "That the "Laws of the Kingdom, and the Canons of "the Church, be well obſerved, and that no "lawful Recreation be barr'd to his good "People, which ſhall not tend to the Breach "of the foreſaid Laws and Canons; (not one "Word of the Laws of God,) that after the "End of Divine Service, his good People be "not diſturbed, or let from any lawful Recre-"ation, ſuch as, Dancing, Archery, Leaping, "Vaulting, *&c.* though none muſt have this "Indulgence, that abſtain from coming to "Church, or are not preſent at Divine Ser-"vice, before their going to the ſaid Recre-"ations". This was the pious Care of King *James*, which being now renew'd, 'tis added, "Out of the like pious Care for the Service of "God (which one would think was a Banter, put in by ſome Puritan or other Perſon evil affected to his Majeſty's Government) "and for ſuppreſ-"ſing of any Humours that oppoſe Truth, "and for the Eaſe, Comfort and Recreation, "of his well-deſerving People, his Majeſty doth "ratify and publiſh this his bleſſed Father's "Declaration; the rather, becauſe in ſome "Counties under Pretence of taking away "ſome Abuſes, there hath been a general "forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, "but of the Feaſt of the Dedication of Chur-"ches, commonly called Wakes. Now his "Majeſty's expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, That "theſe Feaſts be obſerv'd, and that none do "trouble or moleſt any of his loyal or dutiful

"People, for their lawful Recreations, on the "Sabbath-Day".

NOR was this ſent out into the Nation, with the like Indifferency, as if it had been againſt Immorality and Prophaneneſs, but was armed with Power, and executed with Zeal; all the Miniſters of the Kingdom, were enjoyn'd to read the Declaration in their Churches, in the Time of Divine Service; and ſeveral were ſuſpended for refuſing it: Sir *Nathaniel Brent* atteſted on Oath, "That being the Arch-"biſhop's Vicar, he had expreſs Orders from "his Grace, to ſuſpend all ſuch as would "not read the Book of Sports, in the Dioceſs "of *Canterbury* *".

AND if we caſt an Eye to *Scotland*, we ſhall find the Conduct of this unhappy Man no leſs violent and miſchievous there. He threw all into the utmoſt Confuſion, and, by a ſtrange Zeal, that one can't well call by its proper Name, carried Things to ſuch Extremities, as bred a great deal of ill Blood, brought on a War between King *Charles* and the *Scots*; and had like to have ruined both Kingdoms, and would have done it, had not Providence remarkably interpoſed: That this may appear, I'll touch a little upon the *Scotch* Affairs. King *James*, after his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*, made ſeveral Innovations in the Government of the Church of *Scotland*; notwithſtanding he had formerly declared ſo warmly for it, as he did in the General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, 1594; where, having applauded their Kirk, as the ſincereſt in the World, he adds, "I charge ye, my good People, Doctors, "Elders, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Barons, to

Innovations in the Church of *Scotland*, by King *James*.

* *Withers*, p. 30.

"ſtand

"ſtand to your Purity, and to exhort the People "to do the ſame; and I, as long as I brook my "Life and Crown, ſhall maintain the ſame *." And when he took Leave of 'em, he gave them Aſſurances that their Diſcipline and Government ſhould not be alter'd; and yet, alas! forgot himſelf (a Fault he often run into.) He obtain'd an Act for a publick Liturgy in a General Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, 1616. and ſome Concluſions agreeable to the *Engliſh* Church in another Aſſembly at *Perth*, 1618. beſides this, he brought ſome *Scotch* Biſhops (for Titular Biſhops they had before, who voted in Parliament, tho' ſubject to the Aſſembly, and owning themſelves not ſuperior in Order to the reſt of their Brethren) to be conſecrated by *Engliſh* Prelates in 1610. ſet up a High Commiſſion for the ordering Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: He allow'd an Abſolution in *England* to the Marquis of *Huntley*, who ſtood excommunicated in *Scotland*; paſs'd an Article in Parliament, 1617. "That "whatever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the "external Government of the Church, with "the Advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and "a competent Number of the Miniſtry, ſhould "have the Strength of a Law."

His Son, by the Influence of his great Manager went further, and improv'd upon theſe Beginnings. In the Year 1633, when he was crown'd in *Scotland*, he attempts the Reducing their Church to a Conformity with that of *England*: To which Purpoſe the Biſhop of *London* (*Laud*) preach'd in the Royal Chappel, and inſiſted upon the Benefits of Conformity, and the Reverence due to the Ceremonies of the Church: And tho' ſuch Diſcourſe was far from

* *Chalderwood.*

being to the Guſt of the People, the King ſeems reſolv'd to proceed; and therefore orders a Liturgy to be prepar'd.

Liturgy prepared to *Scotland* by *Laud.*

LAUD had the Management of this Matter, but thought fit to intereſt ſome of the *Scotch* Biſhops in it, who (*April* 2. 1635.) acquaint his Grace by Letter, "That they wiſh a full "Conformity in the Churches; that they had "made a further Progreſs than could be expec-"ted; and hop'd ſtill to go further, if it pleas'd "God to continue his Grace in Health and "Life." The next Year the Work is brought to ſome Perfection; being diſtinguiſh'd from the *Engliſh* Liturgy in ſundry Particulars, which were *Laud*'s Improvements, *viz.* That in their Calendar they ſhould keep ſuch Catholick Saints as were in the *Engliſh*, with ſuch other Saints as were peculiar to that Kingdom: That in ordaining Presbyters, they ſhould keep the Words of the *Engliſh* Book, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. That they inſert more Chapters out of the *Apocrypha* in the Leſſons *: That every Biſhop uſe this Service twice a Day, and cauſe that the Univerſities do the ſame. And with theſe Corrections it was confirm'd by his Majeſty's Declaration, dated at *Edinburgh, Octob.* 20. 1636.

How the Service was received in *Scotland.*

IT was firſt publickly read in the great Church in *Edinburgh, July* 23. 1637. but with ſuch an Uproar and Outcry of the People, as very much diſturb'd the Harmony of the new Worſhip: Some of the People crying out, *A Pope, a Pope; Antichriſt, Antichriſt; Stone him, Stone him*; meaning the Dean that was the Reader: And, it ſeems, one pert Woman, *Jennet Gaddis*, was ſo much enrag'd, that ſhe flung the Stool on which ſhe ſat at the Dean's Head, ſaying, *Out*

* Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 80.

thou

thou falſe Thief, doſt thou ſay the Maſs at my Lug? The Biſhop of *Edinburgh* gets up to the Pulpit, to appeaſe the angry Folk; but neither his Endeavours, nor thoſe of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s, could prevail any thing, till the Magiſtrates interpos'd, and thruſt them out of the Church: After which the Dean return'd to his Service, the People in the mean time thundring at the Doors, ſhut againſt them, and throwing in Stones at the Windows. And when the Work of the Day was over, and the Archbiſhop was retiring, the enrag'd People aſſaulted him with ſo much Violence, that, had he not been ſeaſonably reſcu'd, his Life had been in Danger. And ſomething of the like Oppoſition was made in other Churches, where ever they try'd to ſet up the new Service.

One thing that very much heightned the Reſentments of the Nation, was the Spirit and Character of theſe Biſhops. My Lord *Falkland* ſays, that *Laud* obtruded upon the Church of *Scotland* ſuch Biſhops as correſponded beſt with his own Humour; who, by their inſolent and imprudent Management, diſoblig'd all Sorts of People; And the late Biſhop of *Sarum* ſays of theſe Prelates, "That they endeavour'd in their "Sermons and Diſcourſes to leſſen the Prejudice "of that Nation againſt the Papiſts, mollifying "their Opinions, and commending their Per"ſons, not without ſome Reflections on the "Reformers; But this was ſo far, ſays he, from "gaining their Deſign, that it abated nothing "of the Zeal that was againſt Popery, but very "much heightned the Rage againſt themſelves, "as favouring it too much: Nor did the No"bility take it well to ſee the Churchmen ſo "much intermeddling with State Affairs; nine "of whom were Privy-Counſellors, divers of

" them were of the Exchequer, *Spotſwood* Arch-
" biſhop of St. *Andrews* was made Chancellor,
" and *Maxwell* Biſhop of *Roſs* was fair for the
" Treaſury, and engag'd in a high Rivalry with
" the Earl of *Traquair* then Treaſurer; Which,
" ſays my Author *, tended not a little to help
" forward their Ruin. "

Book of Canons prepared for *Scotland*

AND as the Archbiſhop provided them with Forms for Worſhip, ſo with the like Officiouſneſs he ſent them Rules for Government in a Book of Canons, and over and above ſet up an High † Commiſſion Court among them, having experienc'd the good Effects of it in *England*. One Particular in the Management of theſe Canons is odd enough. Tho' they referr'd to the Liturgy, and eſtabliſh'd it, yet in ſo much haſte were they to bleſs their Neighbours with theſe wiſe Laws, that they were publiſh'd (about a Year, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*) before the Liturgy was ſeen or heard: Which made the Caſe ſomewhat like that of the Miniſters in *England*, at the Time of the *Bartholomew* Act; which oblig'd them, on Penalty of being ſilenc'd, to declare their unfeign'd Aſſent and Conſent to the Book of Common-Prayer ſome Lord's-Day before *Bartholomew*, when moſt of 'em neither had nor poſſibly could ſee it, it not being publiſh'd till the Eve of that Day, or thereabouts.

NOR was the Matter of theſe Injunctions very acceptable to the *Scots*. One of them requires, That no Clergyman ſhall conceive Pray-

* *Ruſhworth*, Vol. I. Part 2. p. 392. from *Hamilton*'s Memoirs.

† The late Biſhop of *Sarum*, giving ſome Account of this, thus introduces it; " As if " all Things, ſays he, were " conſpiring to carry on their " Ruine, the Biſhops procu-
" red Warrants from the King
" to ſet up Commiſſions in
" their ſeveral Dioceſſes; in
" which they themſelves, with
" other Aſſeſſors, all of their
" own Nomination, might pu-
" niſh Offenders." *Memoirs of Hamilton.*

ers

ers *extempore*, but be bound to pray only by the Forms us'd in the Liturgy (*i. e.* of the Liturgy that ſhould be, for as yet it was not) and ſuppoſing the Canons immediately in Force, Mr. *Wither*'s Inference muſt be good, that this was in Effect the renewing the Decree of the *Perſian* Monarch: That no Man ſhould offer any Petition to the God of Heaven for ſo long a Time (*i. e.* from the 23d of *May*, 1635. when the Canons were eſtabliſh'd by the King's Authority, to *October* 20, 1636. or near it) when the Liturgy receiv'd its Sanction. They had many other invidious Things in them; ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimitted Power, and full perſonal Supremacy of their Kings; That all Biſhops and Clergymen ſhould bequeath ſomething to the Church: That no Presbyter ſhould reveal any thing receiv'd in Confeſſion: And other Proviſo's, very new and odious to the Common People; becauſe they would not underſtand them, ſays Dr. *Kennet* (but I think one might as well ſay could not.)

IT was hinted what Reception that Service-Book met with, when it firſt appear'd; and tho' the King ſeem'd reſolv'd to carry his Point, and therefore ſent another peremptory Command for the Reading of it, it was without Succeſs. Petitions were preſented againſt the Liturgy and Canons, one in the Name of Men, Women and Children, and even the Servants; Others in the Name of divers Noblemen, Gentlemen, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, which were follow'd with Proteſtations, and what they call'd the *Tables*, which were diſtinct Committees, who were to conſider what was to be propounded at the General Table, that conſiſted of ſeveral Commiſſioners choſen from the four Principal Tables.

The *Scotch* Covenant, in Defence of their Religion and Liberties.

Tables *. And here the *Covenant* was made 1638. in Defence of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, ſubſcrib'd by Noblemen, Barons, Burgeſſes, Miniſters and Commons; and not finding Satisfaction in the King's Conceſſions, after ſome Overtures made, they flee to Arms, and raiſe Forces, which they put under the Command of General *Leſley*. And this was the bleſſed Fruits of *Laud*'s Counſels: To this ſad Extremity did he bring Things.

War breaks out between the King and *Scots*.

THE King cries out of this as Treaſon; declares all ſuch as were concern'd Rebels; and ſends an Army againſt them, commanded by the Earl of *Arundel*. And whereas the King wanted the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament in this Exigency, he makes uſe of his Prerogative, and calls upon the Clergy to put to their helping Hand; which they did, ſome Dioceſſes raiſing 1300 *l.* ſome 1000 *l.* others 900 *l.* Nor do the Papiſts refuſe to contribute to maintain the War againſt the *Scotch Covenanters*; being excited thereto by the Queen's Letter to them. And well they might, for nothing could promiſe fairer for their Intereſt, than theſe unnatural Quarrels between the King and his Subjects.

THE following Confuſions and Miſeries of the Nation, in the whole Series and Progreſs of them, till the Fall of King *Charles*, can't here be related at large; tho' I ſhall not wholly paſs them over, but touch upon a few Particulars that had a chief Influence upon the unhappy Civil War, and the Calamities of the Nation at that Time.

* Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 88.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A new Parliament. The Great Council appears at York. *The Fall of* Strafford *and* Laud. *Articles againſt* Laud. *King* Charles *ſeems to relent, and makes Conceſſions for Peace. The Parliament dare not truſt him.* Iriſh *Maſſacre. The Story of the Marquis of* Antrim. *Things grow to Extremity between King and Parliament. Five Members demanded.* Hull *ſhut up, and the King's Standard ſet up at* Nottingham. *Two Parliaments, one at* Weſtminſter, *another at* Oxford. *The King deliver'd up by the* Scots; *and made Priſoner by the Army. The Parliament and Army quarrel. The Rump vote againſt any further Treaty with the King, and attaint him.*

THO' both the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* arm'd, neither Side ſeem'd very keen for Action; ſo that a Pacification was eaſily concluded upon, certain Articles mutually ſign'd, *June* 18, 1639. But this doth not laſt long, both Sides complain of Breach of Articles; and the King being highly diſguſted with the *Scots*, commands the Pacification to be burnt, and reſolves upon a new War, for reducing the Rebels; and the better

better to carry it on, calls a Parliament; a Thing almoſt forgot in the Nation, it having been diſcontinued for Twelve Years.

A new Parliament after twelve Years Vacancy of Parliament

THE Parliament meets *April* 30, 1640. when Sir *John Finch*, Lord-Keeper, after the King had ſpoken a few Words, delivers himſelf in the following Terms: "His Majeſty's Kingly Reſolutions are ſeated in the Ark of his ſacred "Breaſt, and it were Preſumption of too high "a Nature for any *Uzza* uncall'd to touch it; "Yet his Majeſty is now pleas'd to lay aſide the "ſhining Beams of Majeſty, as *Phœbus* did to "*Phaeton*, that the Diſtance between Sovereignty and Subjection, ſhould not bar you of filial "Freedom of Acceſs to his Perſon and Counſels; "only let us beware how, with the Son of *Clymene*, we aim not at the guiding the Chariot, "as if it were the only Teſtimony of fatherly "Affection: And let us ever remember, that "tho' the King ſometimes lays by the Beams "and Rays of his Majeſty, he never lays by "Majeſty itſelf." The Senſe of this peculiar Oratory, ſays Dr. *Kennet*, was to this Effect: "That his Majeſty was reſolv'd to reduce his "diſaffected Subjects in *Scotland*: That he would "by no Means admit their Mediation; but before they entred on any Debates he expected "their immediate Aid, and afterwards would "give them Time to conſider of any juſt Grievances to be heard and redreſs'd."

BUT theſe Gentlemen came together with too great a Senſe of the Nation's Danger, and the Oppreſſions they had groan'd under, to be ſilent on the Head of Grievances, or to ſuffer any thing to be prefer'd to the main End they were choſen for; which was, *As true Patriots, to ſtand up for the Liberties of their Country, and to reſcue it out of its languiſhing Condition.* And beſides,

ſides, the greateſt Part of the Lords and Commons (as Dr. *Wellwood* obſerves) were but little inclin'd to a War of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s kindling, moſt of them being for healing Methods: So that the King being diſappointed, diſſolv'd this Parliament with a great deal of Anger and Reſentment, after they had ſat about a Month, which Dr. *Kennet* calls a falſe and fatal Step; and we find it cenſur'd by my Lord * *Clarendon* with a Freedom that would ſcarce have been born in another. Parliament diſſolv'd in a Month.

WHEN a War was determin'd againſt the *Scots*, for the Supply of which this Parliament was call'd, a Vote was paſs'd at the Council-Board (as *Laud* owns in his Diary) to aſſiſt the King in extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament ſhould prove peeviſh and refuſe. Accordingly they have recourſe to theſe extraordinary Ways, to Loans, Benevolences, and other Shifts of that Kind: Several Aldermen of the City of *London* were ſent for to the Council-Table, to give in the Names of ſuch Citizens as were able to lend the King Money; which ſome of them refuſing Money raiſed without Parliament.

* "There could not (ſays "he) a greater Damp have "ſeiz'd upon the Spirit of the "Nation, than this Diſſolution "caus'd; and Men had much "of the Miſery in View, "which ſhortly after fell out. "It could never be hoped "that more ſober and diſ-"paſſionate Men would ever "meet together in that Place, "or fewer who brought ill "Purpoſes with them; nor "could any Man imagine "what Offence they had given "that put the King upon that "Reſolution." No queſtion this made the next Parliament more ſtiff, and afraid to truſt the King, when he became more compliant. That which aggravated this Matter, and ſhould be remembred, was, that the Day after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, three of the Members were call'd before the Council for ſome Speeches in Parliament, and not giving Satisfaction, committed to Priſon; and beſides, after the King had diſſolved the Parliament, he left the Convocation ſitting (a thing without Precedent) who make Canons, grant Subſidies, and frame an Oath (of which before) never to alter the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, &c. and *Goodman*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, was ſuſpended for refuſing the Oath.

to

to do, were impriſon'd for their Obſtinacy, as Sir *Nicholas Raynton*, Alderman *Somes*, Alderman *Geere*, and Alderman *Atkins*: However, ſome thro' Force, and others out of Affection, ſo far contributed to the King's Neceſſities, that he thought himſelf able to ſupport the War which was now begun.

THE *Scots* march into *England* with an Army of above Twenty Thouſand (being encouraged thereto by a forged Letter that had the Hands of many of the Nobility of *England* to it, as *Wellwood* tells us). The King's Forces diſpute the Paſſage of the *Tine* with them at *Newburn*, four Miles off *Newcaſtle*, but preſently retire; and the *Scots* take *Newcaſtle* and *Durham*, and receive Contributions to the Value of Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds a Day.

IN the mean Time the King is at *York*; "Where (to uſe the Words of Dr. *Wellwood*) "he found himſelf inviron'd with perplexing "Difficulties on all Hands; the Nobility and "Gentry that attended him, expreſs'd on all "Occaſions their Diſlike of the Cauſe and the "War they were engaged in; the *Scots* ſtood "firm to their Ground, being fluſh'd with Suc-"ceſs; and the King was follow'd from the "South with Petitions from the City of *London*, "from ſeveral Counties, and from a conſidera-"ble Number of Lords, deſiring him to call a "Parliament, as the only effectual Means to "quiet the Minds of the People, and compoſe "the preſent War without Bloodſhed. To "extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* ſummon'd the Great Council of Peers "to meet at *York*, to conſult what was fit to be "done in this Juncture; who advis'd him una-"nimouſly to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* "at *Rippon*, and to ſummon a Parliament to

The Great Council of Peers at York.

"meet

" meet at *Weſtminſter*; with both which Advices " the King comply'd, and immediately iſſu'd " out Writs for a Parliament to ſit down in " *November* 1640. and adjourn'd the Treaty " with the *Scots* to *London*."

A New Parliament

MY Author goes on:

" NO Age ever produced Greater Men than " thoſe that ſat in this Parliament: They had " ſufficient Abilities to render their King and " their Country happy, if *England* had not " been, through the Chain of concurring Acci- " dents, ripened for Deſtruction."

ON *Saturday*, *November* 7. a Scene of Grievances, under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made uſe of to paint them out in the livelieſt Colours. " Tragical Petitions were preferr'd (ſays Dr. " *Kennet* *) to the Houſe of Commons in Be- " half of the chief Sufferers, *Pryn*, *Baſtwick*, " *Burton*, *Lilburn*, *Leighton*, &c. Then the par- " ticular Grievances of the ſeveral Countries " were preſented, and many warm Speeches " made upon the general Grievances of the " Nation, the Infringement of the Privileges " of Parliament, of the Liberties of the Sub- " ject, Innovations in Religion, all which were " enlarged upon with ſevere Reflections upon " Evil Counſellors.

NOR were theſe the Complaints of a few, or of ſuch as were in the leaſt ſuſpected of Enmity to the Government, either in Church or State. 'Tis undoubtedly true which *Wellwood* obſerves, " That they were the great Patriots " that concurr'd at firſt to make Enquiry into " the Grievances of this Reign: Sir *Edward* " *Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord

* Hiſtory of *England*, p. 17.

" Chancellor

" Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Digby*; the " Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capel*; Mr. *Grim-* " *ſtone*, who was choſen Speaker of that Houſe " of Commons, that brought in King *Charles* II. " and was Maſter of the Rolls; Mr. *Hollis*, ſince " Lord *Hollis*: All which ſuffer'd afterwards on " the King's Side. And in general, thoſe that " took the King's Part in the ſucceeding War, " were the Men that appear'd with the greateſt " Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and made " the ſharpeſt Speeches upon thoſe Subjects. " The Intentions of theſe Gentlemen were cer- " tainly noble and juſt, and tended to the e- " qual Advantage of King and People; but the " Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruin, Step " by Step, till an open Rupture between the " King and Parliament made the Gap too wide " ever to be made up again.

The Fall of *Strafford* and *Laud*.

THAT which was moſt offenſive to the King, and yet the Houſe was immoveably reſolv'd upon, was the Impeaching the King's two Great Favourites, *Strafford* and *Laud*. The former of theſe, when in the Houſe of Commons, appear'd with as much Zeal as any of them againſt illegal Exactions*; as, *Tonnage and Poundage*, *Ship-Money*, &c. but was drawn off by Court Preferments. *Pryn*, it ſeems, who had liv'd in a long Friendſhip with him, told him at parting, *He was going to be undone*; and added, *Remember, tho' you leave us now, I will never leave you while your Head is on your Shoulders*. And he made good what he ſaid; for he it was that firſt accus'd him of High-Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, and carried up the Impeachment to the Lords, and was the chief Manager of the Bill of Attainder againſt him. The Impeachment

* *Welwood*, p. 1.

was

was in these Terms: "My Lords, the Knights, "Citizens and Burgesses, now assembled for the "Commons in Parliament, have receiv'd Infor- "mations of divers traiterous Designs and Prac- "tices of a Great Peer of this House; and by "Virtue of a Command from them, I do here "in the Name of the Commons now assembled "in Parliament, and in the Name of all the "Commons of *England*, accuse *Thomas* Earl of "*Strafford* of High-Treason: And they have "commanded me further, to desire your Lord- "ships that he may be sequestred from Parlia- "ment, and forthwith committed to Prison; "and they will in a very few Days resort to "your Lordships with the particular Grounds "and Reasons of their Accusation." Upon which the Earl was committed to the Custody of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

Soon after the like Charge was drawn up against *Laud*, and both the one and the other were executed. The King endeavours to save *Strafford*, and with great Difficulty was prevail'd with to sign the Warrant for his Death; tho' at the same Time in his Speech to the Parliament in his Behalf, he own'd he did not think the Lord *Strafford* fit hereafter to serve him, or the Commonwealth, in any Place of Trust, not so much as that of a Constable: And the Lord *Digby* that was against his Sentence, yet declared a great Abhorrence of his Misdemeanours; *The Name of* Strafford, says he, *is a Name of Hatred in the present Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Punishment. I believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, and the most unsupportable to free Subjects, that can be characteriz'd, and his Practices as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventur'd upon.* And many Particulars agreeable to this Charge of

the

the Lord *Digby's*, were objected against him at his Tryal; and that both relating to his Behaviour in *Ireland*, and in the North; as his oppressing the Subjects, and playing the Tyrant among them; encouraging Papists, and endeavouring to subvert the Government: But that which had the chief Influence on his Condemnation, was his Advice to King *Charles*, sworn against him by Secretary *Vane*, (*viz.*) to bring over an Army from *Ireland*, to subdue the Nation, meaning, as was alledg'd, *England*.

THE Bishop was not brought to his Tryal till some Years after, when he was condemn'd by an Ordinance of both Houses, and executed *January* 10. 1644. He had been voted by the House of Commons a Traytor before, and tho' now the Lords found some Difficulty in admitting the Charge of Treason against him, yet his Conduct had been so very offensive, and he was generally look'd upon to have been so active * an Instrument in all the Mischief that befel the Na-

Articles against *Land*

* The Articles advanced against him were to this Purpose: That he had traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Laws of the Kingdom, and introduce an Arbitrary Tyrannical Government; to which Purpose he had procur'd and encourag'd the printing of such Books, as defended and pleaded for an Absolute and Unlimited Power in the King. That he not only interrupted Justice by Letters, Messages, Threats, &c. but sold it by Colour of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. That he caused Canons to be compos'd and publish'd, containing many Things contrary to the Statutes of this Realm, and that without Authority; that he traiterously assumed to himself a Papal and Tyrannical Power, both in Ecclesiastical and Temporal Matters; that he endeavour'd to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry; that he enjoyn'd many Popish Ceremonies, without any Warrant from Law, and cruelly persecuted those who opposed the same, that he preferred to his Majesty's Service, and to great Promotions in the Church, such as were popishly affected; and chose Chaplains disaffected to the Reformed Religion, attempted a Reconciliation of the Church of *England* with *Rome*; and kept secret Intelligence with the Pope, silenced, and suspended Orthodox Preachers without Cause; caused Discord

Nation, that the Commons resolve not to spare him: And here again I may observe with Dr. *Wellwood*, that none were more severe upon him, than those that afterwards took the King's Part against the Parliament, and had a chief Hand in his Son's Restoration. *Grimstone*, a zealous Royalist, call'd him, *a Viper near his Majesty's Person, to distil Poison into his sacred Ears; the great and common Enemy of all Goodness and good Men.*

THIS Parliament having secured themselves from an hasty Dissolution, were resolved to go through-Stitch with their Work, and to have all their Grievances, at last, effectually redress'd; and indeed, the King seem'd so much softned, and in so good a Humour, that they had a fair Prospect of succeeding: How encouraging was his Speech, *January* 25. *I will*, (says he,) *willingly and chearfully concur with you, for the Reformation of all Abuses, both in Church and Common-wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of Justice might be reform'd according to Law: For my Intention is, to reduce all Things*

cord between the Church of *England* and other Reformed Churches; stirred up War between his Majesty's two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; that he incens'd his Majesty against Parliaments, and laboured to subvert their Rights. The Bishop was not like to plead Guilty to this Charge; how he defended himself may be seen in the History he left written of his Troubles. When he came to the Scaffold he behav'd himself with great Composure and Presence of Mind; (and 'tis known, so did the King's Judges) it does not appear he was then at all haunted with the Ghosts of oppress'd Puritans; or disturbed with Images and Remembrance of Things done in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission-Court. But to say nothing of other Matters, it is really wonderful, that a Man of his Parts should place such a disproportioned Zeal in childish Fopperies, as to make them the great Care of his Ministry, to slit Noses, cut off Ears, tear Families in Pieces, and set the Frame of Nature on Fire for the Sake of them. But he dyed, and to his own Master standeth or falleth. *Rushworth*, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 136, &c.

to the beſt and pureſt Times, as they were in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. *Moreover, whatſoever Part of my Revenue ſhall be found illegal, or heavy to my Subjects, I ſhall be willing to lay it down, truſting to their Affections.* He adds, *If ſome of the Biſhops have over-ſtretched their Power, and encroach'd too much upon the Temporality, I ſhall not be unwilling theſe Things be redreſs'd and reform'd, as all other Abuſes, according to the Wiſdom of former Times: Nay further, if upon ſerious Debate, you ſhall ſhew me, that Biſhops have ſome temporal Authority inconvenient to the State, and not ſo neceſſary to the Government of the Church; I ſhall not be unwilling to deſire them to lay it down.* He tells them, he was ready to give them Satisfaction touching frequent Parliaments, which he confeſſes, to be the beſt Means of keeping a good Underſtanding between him and his People; and that he would convince them of the Deſires he had of giving them Content by the Miniſters he would have about him.

NOR did he only ſpeak for Peace, but ſeemed willing to purſue it: Hence he begins to ſhift Hands, and employ another Sort of Inſtruments in his Work. Sir *Robert Holbourn* is made Attorney-General, and *Oliver St. John* Solicitor; who had both of them diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their warm Speeches againſt Ship-Money, when Council for Mr. *Hambden*. He paſſes many good Acts; as, "One for a "Triennial Parliament: Another, (which, it "may be, was over-doing it,) that the Parlia-"ment ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned, "nor diſſolved, without their own Conſent *: "An Act for the utter aboliſhing the Star-

* *Ruſhworth's* Hiſt. Collect. *Vol.* II. *Part* 2. *p.* 1381.

"Cham-

" Chamber, and High-Commiſſion-Courts: " An Act to aboliſh the Court of the Pre- " ſident and Council in the North: An Act " to reſcind the Juriſdiction of the Court of " Seminaries: An Act for declaring Ship- " Money, and all Proceedings therein void: " An Act for aſcertaining the Bounds and " Limits of the Foreſts; as they were in the " 20th Year of King *James*: An Act to pre- " vent the vexatious Proceedings touching " the Order of Knighthood *." And whereas the Parliament thought it inconvenient, that the Patents of the Judges ſhould be, *durante bene placito*; he grants, at their Requeſt, that they ſhould hold their Places *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint*. Theſe were ſome of the Conceſſions his Majeſty made, which could not but procure Acknowledgments from the Parliament, as they did, and were highly ſatisfactory to many; and yet had not their deſir'd Effect.

THE ſame good Temper, it ſeems, reach'd *Scotland* alſo; there having been an Act of Pacification, for ſettling the Affairs of the two Kingdoms (upon which the Armies were order'd to be disbanded;) the King takes a Journey thither, and, in his Speech to the Parliament, tells them, *The End of* his *Coming was to perfect what* he had *promis'd, and quiet the Diſtractions of the Kingdom; And this,* (ſays he) *I mind not ſuperficially, but fully to perform; for I aſſure you, I can do nothing with more Chearfulneſs, than to give my People a general Satisfaction.* And Dr. *Kennet* * intimates, " He " did not put them off with fair Words; for " (ſays he) whatever Acts they were pleaſed

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 111.

" to preſent to him, concerning Church or " State, the King confirmed, and then gra- " tify'd the Promoters of them, conferring Ho- " nours and Offices on his greateſt Enemies, " in Hopes to reconcile, and retain them."

AND now, as I apprehend, Things were come to a perfect Criſis; Deliverance, or Bondage, Proſperity, or Ruin, ſeem'd to hover over *Britain*; and which ſhould be our Lot was ſoon to be determin'd. This was well enough expreſſed in Mr. *Rudyard's* Speech in this Parliament. " His Majeſty (ſays he *) hath " clearly and freely put himſelf into the Hands " of this Parliament; and I preſume, there is " not a Man in the Houſe but feels himſelf " advanc'd in this high Truſt: But, if he proſ- " per no better in our Hands, than he hath " done in theirs, who have hitherto had the " handling of his Affairs, we ſhall, for ever, " make our ſelves unworthy of ſo gracious a " Confidence. I have often thought, and ſaid, " it muſt be ſome great Extremity that would " recover and rectify this State; and when that " Extremity did come, it would be a great " Hazard, whether it might prove a Remedy, " or Ruin. We are now, Mr. Speaker, upon " the vertical Point, and therefore, 'tis no " Time to palliate; for this will but foment, " and haſten our own undoing." But whoſe Fault it was that the Criſis prov'd ſo unhappy, will not be on all Hands agreed; ſuch as view Things at a Diſtance, are ready to think the Parliament now let ſlip their Opportunity of ſettling the Nation; and that henceforth Part, at leaſt, of that Guilt, which was before im-

* *Ruſhworth*, Vol. II. Part 2. p. 1358.

puted

puted to evil Counſellors about the King, came over to the other Side.

BUT the Parliament thought they had ſufficient Reaſon to be jealous of the King: They apprehended what he did was not voluntary, but by Conſtraint (and it may be, the *Scotch* Army in the North had ſome Influence in the Matter) and therefore, dare not venture to truſt him. Parliament durſt not truſt the King.

IN the mean While, both Sides receive Alarms, and are made to ſuſpect the worſt Deſigns one againſt another; which Jealouſy, no Queſtion, was very much promoted by the Intrigues of Popiſh Emiſſaries, who induſtriouſly blew up the Coals, and ſet themſelves to widen the Breach all they could. It unhappily fell out, at this Time, whilſt the King was in *Scotland*, endeavouring to ſet Things right there, that the News of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre reach'd the Parliament, in which between Two and Three Hundred Thouſand Proteſtants were murder'd in the moſt inhuman barbarous Manner. The Rebels pretended the King's Authority for what they did: To which Purpoſe, they produce a *Commiſſion with the King's Broad Seal to it, and give out, *That* they *were the Queen's Soldiers, and roſe to defend the King, and maintain his Prerogative againſt the Puritan Parliament of* England. 'Tis certain, they had his Majeſty's Broad Seal, how they came by it, is the Queſtion; 'tis commonly ſaid, that they got it out of *Farnham*-Abbey, from an old The *Iriſh* Maſſacre.

* This Commiſſion is dated from *Edinburgh*, *October* 1. 1641. Many will think it no other than a Forgery, deſigned on Purpoſe, by the Papiſts, to make the King odious, and inflame the Difference between him and the Parliament; but the Secret of this, and ſome other Things of the like Nature, muſt be left, for ought I know, to the Light of a future Judgment.

Writing, and fixed it to the Commiſſion they ſhew'd.

IT was, however, Matter of Scandal, that, though the Rebellion broke out in *October*, the King did not declare them Rebels 'till *January* after: And, it ſeems, when he was urg'd to waſh off the foul Stain from himſelf, as being any Way acceſſary to ſo horrid a Fact; and to that Purpoſe, was prevailed with to put forth his Declaration againſt the Rebels; he commanded, *That no more than forty Copies ſhould be printed, and that none ſhould be preſently publiſhed, but be delayed 'till his Majeſty's Pleaſure was further known*; though the *Scots* were immediately proclaim'd Rebels, and the Proclamation that contain'd the Charge flies through both Kingdoms like Lightning.

Paſſage of the Marquis of *Antrim.*

BUT that which has ſince rais'd a Jealouſy in many, and is not eaſily accounted for, without ſuppoſing a Degree of Guilt in the King, that others will not think him capable of, is the Buſineſs of the Marquis of *Antrim*, publiſh'd in Mr. *Baxter*'s Life and the Abridgment, and in other Hiſtories.

"THE Marquis, who was a noted Man "among the *Iriſh* Rebels, having had his Eſtate "ſequeſtred, thought fit, upon the Reſtoration "of King *Charles* the Second, to ſue for the "Reſtitution of it. The Duke of *Ormond* and "the Council judg'd againſt him, as one of "the Rebels: Whereupon, he brought his "Cauſe over to the King, and affirm'd, that "what he did, was by his Father's Conſent "and Authority; and the King referr'd it to "ſome Members of the Privy-Council, to exa-"mine what he had to ſhew: Upon Exami-"nation, they found he had the King's Con-"ſent, or Letters of Inſtruction for what he "did.

"did. Hereupon, King *Charles* wrote to the "Duke of *Ormond* and the Council, to reſtore "his Eſtate, becauſe it appear'd to thoſe ap- "pointed to examine it, *That what he did, was* "*by his Father's Order, or Conſent.* The Lord "*Mazarine*, and others, not being fully ſatisfy'd "with this, thought fit ſo far to proſecute the "Matter, as that the Marquis of *Antrim* was "forced to produce in the Houſe of Commons "a Letter of King *Charles* the Firſt; by which "he gave him Order for taking up Arms: "Which being read in the Houſe, produced "a general Silence. The whole Account of "it, with a great many ſurprizing Particulars, "was publiſhed, in a Pamphlet call'd, *Murder* "*will out.*"

THIS, I know, has been, and will be look'd upon by ſundry, as a meer Forgery, and the repeating of it, Calumny. For my Part, I can juſtly ſay, I had rather it was falſe than true; and ſhould be ſorry, that the Guilt of ſo much Cruelty ſhould ever be found lying at the Door of a Proteſtant Prince.

I SHALL only further obſerve here, that this Story is confirm'd by others: The Author of a little Piece, printed 1692; call'd *England's Miſeries ſet forth in their true Light*, ſays (*page* 170, *&c.*) "That he found it written by his "Majeſty's Command, ſign'd *Henry Bennett*, "and entred at the Signet-Office, *July* 13: "1663. that what the Marquis of *Antrim* did "in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, was by Direction from "his Royal Father and Mother." Upon the Marquis's Petition to the King, and the King's referring it to the Conſideration of the Privy-Council there, 'tis thus expreſſed, "Our ſaid "Referees, after ſeveral Meetings, and Peruſal "of what hath been offered to them, by the

" Marquis, have reported unto us, that they " have ſeen ſeveral Letters, all of them the " Hand-Writing of our Royal Father to the " ſaid Marquis, and ſeveral Inſtructions, con- " cerning his treating, and joyning with the " *Iriſh*, in Order to the King's Service, by " reducing them to their Obedience; and by " drawing ſome Forces from them, for the " Service of *Scotland*. That beſides, the Letters " and Orders under his Majeſty's Hand, they " have received ſufficient Evidence and Teſti- " mony, and Directions ſent from *Our Royal* " *Father, and Our Royal Mother*; by which " they are perſuaded, that whatever Intelli- " gence, Correſpondence, or Actings, the ſaid " Marquis had with the Confederate *Iriſh* " Catholicks, was allow'd by the ſaid Letters, " Inſtructions, *&c.* that it manifeſtly appears to " them, that the King our Father was well " pleaſed with what the Marquis did, after he " had done it, and approved the ſame."

As I do not pretend to know the Author of this Relation, ſo neither will I vouch for it; if it be true, there's leſs Reaſon to queſtion the Commiſſion the Rebels produc'd under the Broad Seal. However, whether the King abetted this Villany, or not; 'tis certain, the Fact ſo much rais'd the Fears of the Nation, and the Dread of the Papiſts; that 'twas thought requiſite that the Parliament (the King being abſent in *Scotland*) ſhould put the Nation into a Poſture of Defence, and 'tis paſt Doubt, that this muſt be reckon'd among the many Things that at that Time fell out ſtrangely, to haſten the Violence that the Nation was threaten'd with.

When the King was returning from *Scotland*, the Parliament was buſy with their Grie-

vances,

vances, the Innovations, and Corruptions in Religion, *Iriſh* Rebellion, *&c.* and in a little Time drew up the famous *Petition and Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation.* This Remonſtrance conſiſted of ſeveral Sheets; taking in all the Particulars of Male-Adminiſtration ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion, which they attributed to evil Counſellors, and to a malignant Party: It was preſented within eight Days of his Arrival; and would be thought by him, we may be ſure, no very hearty Welcome home.

Things come to Extremities between the King and Parliament

ANOTHER Thing that haſtned the approaching Miſchief, was Intelligence the Parliament had got, of ſome tampering with the Army in the North, in Order to employ it againſt them. "Some Chief Officers being "examined (as Sir *Jacob Aſhly*, *O Neal*, and "Sir *Fulk Hunks*) confeſs'd, *That ſome near the* "*King had treated with them about bringing up* "*the Army.* Which Examinations were pub- "liſhed, and ſatisfy'd many, that the King did "but wateh, while he quieted them with Pro- "miſes, to maſter them by Force, and uſe "them at his Pleaſure *."

THIS, among other Things, ſo alarmed the Parliament, that apprehending themſelves not ſafe, they provided a Guard; which the King being diſpleas'd with, diſmiſs'd, and appoints a Guard of Trained Bands: But this the Commons thought worſe than no Guard at all, as making them look rather like Priſoners than Legiſlators; and therefore, they refus'd the King's Guards, and procured ſome of the City Regiments, which nettled the King: And indeed, nothing was now done, on either Side, but it provok'd the other. One Step the King

* *Baxter's* Life, p. 27.

took

took at this Time, that was very unadvis'd (as the beſt of his Friends thought it, and he himſelf too, when he came more calmly to conſider it;) he accuſes five of the leading Members of the Commons of High-Treaſon, *viz.* *Hollis*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Mr. *Hambden* and Mr. *Stroud*; and afterwards goes in Perſon to the Houſe, attended with a ſelect Number (ſome ſay 300) of Gentlemen arm'd with Swords, Piſtols, *&c.* and ſetting himſelf in the Speaker's Chair, calls for the Traytors, and taking Notice, *the Birds were flown*, as he expreſs'd it, requir'd, that they ſhould be ſent to him; and preſently after, ſeizes their Papers, ſeals up their Cloſets, and, by Proclamation, declares them Traytors. 'Tis generally ſuppos'd, if the five Members had been in the Houſe, the King would have called in his Guards to apprehend them, which might have begun a War between King and Parliament, or rather a Duel, ſooner than it broke out; for, no Queſtion they would have oppos'd Force to Force.

The King demands five Members.

THE Conſequence of this Raſhneſs in the King was bad enough. "Nothing, ſays Dr. "*Kennet* *, could have been more prejudicial "to his Intereſt and Honour than this impru- "dent Action; which, if it had ſucceeded, "would have ſerv'd no Purpoſe but that of "blackening the King, for breaking the ordi- "nary Courſe of Law and Juſtice; and being "diſappointed, was the more popular Sugge- "ſtion to Self-Defence and open War." They immediately paſs a Vote, *That this was a great Breach of Privilege, a great Scandal to the King*

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 113.

and

and his Government, manifeſtly tending to the Subverſion of the Peace, and an Injury and Diſhonour to the ſaid Members, there being no legal Charge or Accuſation againſt them: And that there could be no Vindication of their Privileges, unleſs his Majeſty would diſcover the Names of thoſe that advis'd him to ſuch illegal Proceedings.

NOR was the Alarm of this confined to the Houſe of Commons, but extended a great Way further, raiſed Mobs with Petitions and Cries for Juſtice, the Noiſe of which was ſo great, even about *Whitehall*, that his Majeſty thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*. One Particular more I can't but take Notice of here, that was no ſmall Prejudice to the King's Affairs. It was hotly reported, as what came from ſome that fled out of *Ireland*, in the Time of the Maſſacre there, that the *Iriſh* Rebels ſhould ſay, *It was to no Purpoſe to fly for Safety into* England; *for that Kingdom would be as much diſtreſſed as theirs, that the King intended to forſake his Parliament in* England, *and war againſt it; which when he did, they would come over, having done their Work in* Ireland, *and help the King againſt the* Engliſh *Parliament*. Which ſuppoſe it was no more than a Stratagem of the Papiſts, to increaſe the Peoples Jealouſies of the King, might eaſily enough be believed on this Occaſion, and help forward the fatal Quarrel.

All Confidence was now utterly deſtroyed between King and Parliament: The King in the mean While, ſeems to relent; tells the Houſe, by a Meſſage, *He would wave the Proceedings againſt the five Members, and be as careful of their Privileges, as of his own Life or Crown.* But they did not ſee fit to truſt him, unleſs he would, for greater Security, truſt them

them with the Militia, with the Tower of *London*, and the Navy; which could not be comply'd with. The King removes from Place to Place; and after ſome Time ſpent in Petitions, Remonſtrances, Meſſages, Anſwers and Replies, all to no purpoſe, he marches towards *Hull*, a Place well ſtor'd with Ammunition and Arms, having been a great Magazine in the War againſt the *Scots*. But the Parliament had got the Start, and had ſent Sir *John Hotham* to take Poſſeſſion, and be Governour of it in their Name. The King comes to the Walls of the Town, and demands Entrance, which Sir *John* refus'd (upon his Knees excuſing himſelf) being intruſted by the Parliament; for which the King proclaims him a Traitor, and now the Word was, *To your Tents, O* Iſrael: The King ſummons the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* to him at *York*, and ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*, on *Monday*, *Auguſt* 22, 1642. and from henceforth Hoſtilities and open Violence on both Sides.

King's Standard ſet up at *Nottingham*

My Lord *Clarendon* takes Notice, that melancholy Men obſerv'd ill Preſages at this Time; "There appearing no Conflux of Men, in O-"bedience to the King's Proclamation; the "Trained-Bands the Sheriff brought, being all "the Guard for his Majeſty's Perſon and Stan-"dard: The Arms and Ammunition were not "yet come from *York*, and a general Sadneſs "cover'd the whole Town: The Standard was "blown down the ſame Night it was ſet up, by "a ſtrong and unruly Wind, and could not be "fix'd in a Day or two, till the Tempeſt was "allay'd. This, *ſays he*, was the melancholy "State of the King's Affairs when his Standard "was ſet up." And it had been well if Omens (to both Parties) had diſcouraged their unhappy

py Enterprize; but this must not be, it was a *Day of Vengeance*, the Sword *must devour and be satiate and made drunk with Blood*, before it should rest and be still; so that it being drawn, and having got Commission, marches thro' the Land, making dreadful Havock every where; Neighbours, and even Relations (forgetting the Ties of Nature) tearing one another's Bowels, without relenting.

THE Progress and several Steps of this unnatural War, till, thro' the Prevalency of an arbitrary Faction, it issued in cutting off the King's Head, between Six and Seven Years after, *viz. January* 30, 1648. I cannot particularly relate, but must in a great Measure pass over, tho' I make a Chasm in the History. I am sensible I have stay'd too long upon the Subject; but I thought in such a Miscellany of Things as I have touch'd upon, it might not be unacceptable to some to find this included.

THE first Fight was at *Edge-Hill*, *October* 23, 1642. in which about Five Thousand were slain: Both Sides challenged the Victory; but whoever had it, should, methinks, have but a melancholy Triumph, considering it was at the Expence of their Brethren's Blood, and led on further Desolations.

THE Year after the Parliament strengthen themselves by a Confederacy with the *Scots*; in order to which, the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* is offer'd to the Houses of Parliament, and (*October* 22.) taken by them and the *Assembly of Divines*; upon which, the *Scots* came into *England* with an Army. This plunges the King into new Difficulties, and occasions the Calling a Parliament to meet at *Oxford*, which was an Anti-Parliament to that at *Westminster*; the one voting the other Rebels, and declaring all they did null and void.

AND

AND now the longeſt Sword muſt carry it; nothing elſe I think could well be expected but Conqueſt by one Side or the other, and that the Conquerors would preſcribe their own Terms. The *Weſtminſter* Parliament reſolving to reform the Church, and indeed change the Government of it (a Thing never intended at firſt) being obliged hereto by their *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, they call an *Aſſembly of Divines*, who met at *Weſtminſter* in King *Henry* the VIIth's Chappel, *July* 1, 1643. The King in the mean time is ſhifting for himſelf as well as he can, proteſting againſt what the others do; and being miſerably worſted in almoſt every Battel, at laſt throws himſelf into the Arms of the *Scots*; who (not daring to break with the *Engliſh* Parliament, and make the *Engliſh* Army their Enemies) deliver him to the *Engliſh*, upon Aſſurance that he ſhould be in Safety and Honour: By whom he is conducted to *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*, attended by ſeveral Commiſſioners from the Parliament. 'Tis obſerv'd, that during the King's Confinement at *Holmby*, he would neither hear the Divines preach, that came with the Commiſſioners (Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Carryl*) nor ſuffer them to ſay Grace, but always ſaid it himſelf; which was look'd upon ſtiff enough, conſidering the preſent Poſture of his Affairs.

The Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*.

THE King being a Priſoner at *Holmby-Houſe*, and in the Hands of the Parliament, the Army, who were now for ſetting up for themſelves, caſt an Eye towards him, and deſign to make him their Prey: Accordingly *Joyce* is ſent with a Party of Men, who came and demanded the King, and ſhew ſo good Authority (*i. e.* Sword in Hand) that neither his Majeſty nor the Commiſſioners durſt withſtand them; ſo that the King

King becomes *Joyce*'s Captive. 'Tis ſuppos'd this was done by the Management of *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' he pretended he knew nothing of it. The Army detain'd the King among them, till at laſt they ſent him to *Hampton-Court*, and there they lodg'd him, under the Guard of Collonel *Whalley*, the Army quartering all about him. Mr. *Baxter* * ſays, "While he was here, "theſe Hypocrites pretended Care of his Ho- "nour, Liberty, Safety and Conſcience. They "blam'd the Auſterity of the Parliament, who "had denied him the Attendance of his own "Chaplains; they blam'd the Incivility of the "Parliament and Presbyterians; granted Li- "berty to his Friends and Chaplains to viſit "him; and when the Parliament offer the King "Propoſitions of Concord, the Army offer "him Propoſals of their own, which the King "lik'd better."

The King made Priſoner by the Army.

AND now the Parliament and Army fall together by the Ears. The Parliament attempts to disband the Army; but inſtead thereof the Parliament is in danger of being diſſolv'd by them: Upon which they (the Parliament) treat with the King, then in the *Iſle of Wight*, whither he had fled for Safety; but the Army overrules that Matter, breaks off the Treaty, and at laſt ſeizes the King: And to make way for their own villanous Deſigns, they purge the Houſe of Commons, and violently exclude ſuch Members there as were moſt like to withſtand them; which done, they ſhow themſelves without a Mask, ſending this Propoſal to the Houſe by Collonel *Axtel*, "That they had for a long "Time ſadly beheld and taſted the miſerable "Fruits of Counſels, divided by Faction and

* Life, p. 60.

"perſonal

" perſonal Intereſt: That all faithful Members " muſt acquit themſelves by a Proteſtation of " their not concurring in the late Proceedings, " and muſt then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed " to take Order for the Execution of Juſtice."

The Rump vote againſt any further Treaty with the King.

ON *October* 13. the Commons (*i.e.* ſuch as the Army had left) voted they would make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King; and ſoon after draw up an Ordinance for attainting *Charles Stuart* of High-Treaſon, which was ſent up to the Lords *January* 2. and being rejected by them, the Commons paſs the Ordinance in the Name of the Commons of *England* only, and appoint a Number of Commiſſioners, which (by a known Figure) is call'd the *High Court of Juſtice*; who took upon them to arraign and condemn the King, and cut off his Head, *January* 30, 1648.

I NEED not borrow any thing from the Fund of Oratory and Rhetorick, our Anniverſary Sermons on the 30th of *January* ſupply us with enough to aggravate this Crime; an impartial and naked Repreſentation of it ſhows it bad enough. But I can't forbear taking Notice, how much ſome of the fiercer Declaimers on that Day promote the Cauſe they deſign to expoſe (*viz.* that of Diſorder and Confuſion, and even Rebellion) whilſt they defend all the unhappy Meaſures of that Reign, and ſcrew up the Prerogative above what the Law will bear, thereby hanging a Weight upon the Crown which has often made it totter, ſometimes overthrown it, and always has that Tendency. Nor is it the leaſt Abuſe of this Day, that they accuſe the Innocent, and with a Guilt not much inferior to that which made the King a *Martyr*, as they word it, impute the Fact to a Party that abhor it, and who can't with any Juſtice, even in their Progenitors, be charged with it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

A distinct Answer to the Question, Who begun the Civil War, and who cut off the King's Head. The Presbyterians zealous for the Restoration.

BUT the Question here will be, At whose Door must the Guilt of all this Mischief lye; the Guilt of beginning and continuing the War, till 'twas brought to that tragical Conclusion? Was it not the Presbyterians that first took up Arms against their Sovereign, and at last cut off his Head?

THIS being a Subject of great Debate among us, and often either ignorantly or wilfully misrepresented, I shall speak directly and distinctly to it, tho' in as few Words as possibly I can.

AND if we would trace Things up to their Originals, I need not scruple to say, *The Spring and Rise of all was from the Royal Family.* King *James*, as observ'd before, laid the Foundation in the Popish Match; for the Sake of which, he admitted into the Land a Swarm of Locusts, to plot against the Government, and embarrass the Affairs of it: And what Invasions were made upon the fundamental Rights of the Subject, thro' a great Part of King *Charles*'s Reign, has been hinted: The King's Will was instead of Law, and the Star-Chamber and High Com-

miſſion-Court inſtead of Parliaments: *Laud* and his Adherents had acted a Part ſo arbitrary and oppreſſive, that 'tis no Wonder it drove others to Extreams, and put them upon taking Meaſures to curb the Power they were * convinc'd would otherwiſe cruſh and ruin them.

NOR can it be denied, the King gave the Parliament too much Cauſe to ſuſpect him in all his Treaties, and that his Conceſſions were but extorted from the preſent Straits he was in: How favourably did Things work towards an Accommodation at the *Uxbridge* Treaty, and yet all was fruſtrated by the King's Mutability. It ſeems the King, by Importunity of the Earl of *Southampton* and others, was brought to conſent to the main of the Parliament's Propoſitions; and promiſed, when theſe Gentlemen took leave of him at Night, to ſend them away with a Warrant ſign'd the next Morning from *Oxford*, where the King was, to treat with the

K. *Charles* mutable and unſteady.

* 'Tis ſo evident, as not to admit of Debate with reaſonable Men, that King *Charles* broke in upon the Conſtitution in ſundry Inſtances, and ſeem'd plainly to aim at arbitrary Power, tho' 'tis like he might have uſed it with leſs Terror to his Subjects, than worſe Men would have done; and had he not been withſtood herein, 'tis probable there had been an End of the *Engliſh* Privileges and Government; the Monarchy had been changed into abſolute; our Parliaments laid aſide, or render'd as inſignificant as in *France*; and our legal Rights the ſame as in *Sweden*, *Muſcovy*, &c. *i. e.* wholly at the Mercy of the Prince, and dependant on his Pleaſure.

Nor is this any Aggravation of Things, but agreeable to the prevailing Sentiments of the Nation at that Time, even of ſome of the Loyaliſts themſelves. I had it from good Hands, that two Gentlemen in *Derbyſhire*, Neighbours and Intimates, happening to be on different Sides after the Civil War broke out, and being in Company together, they began, according to their uſual Freedom, to diſcourſe about the Grounds, each of them went on in what they did. The Gentleman for the Royal Side own'd, that if they (the Parliament) got the better, they were free Men; *But*, ſays he, *ſhould we get the better of you, we are Slaves and our Poſterity for ever.* And he muſt be ſtrangely partial and prejudiced, that does not ſee Things were tending apace to this.

Com-

Commiſſioners on the other Side at *Uxbridge*; but when they return'd to his Majeſty in the Morning, they found him quite changed from what he was over Night, and the Hopes of Peace quite daſh'd, and the King becomes inflexible; the Occaſion of which was an Expreſs from *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, General againſt the Rebels there, as they were call'd. It ſeems he had ſucceeded in two or three Battles; an Account of which he ſends to the King in a Letter to *Oxford*, in which he expreſſes his Concern that his Majeſty had conſented to enter upon a Treaty with his rebellious Subjects, as being a Thing unworthy of a King; aſſuring him he was ſo much Maſter of *Scotland*, that he doubted not to be able in a few Months to march into *England* with a gallant Army to his Majeſty's Aſſiſtance; concluding thus, vainly: *When I have conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *as I doubt not I ſhall very quickly; I hope I may then have Leave to ſay, as* David's *General to his Maſter*, Come thou, leſt this Country be called by my Name." "This "Letter (ſays *Wellwood* *, from whom I bor- "row the Story) writ with ſuch an Air of "Aſſurance, by one that was thought capable "of making good his Promiſes, and the Matter "contain'd in it ſuiting but too well with the "King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd "to the King but a few Hours before he was "to ſign the Warrant before-mention'd, and had "as ill Effects as the worſt of King *Charles*'s "Enemies could have wiſh'd; deſtroying, in a "Moment, all the Impreſſions his beſt Friends "had been making for a conſiderable Time to- "wards a full Settlement with his People."

* Page 76.

To the ſame Purpoſe is the Paſſage mention'd by Mr. *Lock*; he tells us, That Sir *A. Aſhley Cowper* (afterwards Lord *Shaftsbury*) propos'd to the King at *Oxford* to put an End to the War, if his Majeſty would but aſſiſt him: He told him, The Gentlemen of Eſtates having had two Years Experience of the War, and finding it no nearer an End than 'twas at firſt, began to be weary, and would be glad to be at Home again, if they could be aſſur'd of a Redreſs of their Grievances, *&c.* He further propos'd, That his Majeſty would impower him to treat with the Parliament Garriſons, grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Aſſurance that a general Amneſty ſhould reinſtate all Things in the ſame Poſture they were in before the War, and then a Free Parliament ſhould do what more remain'd to be done for the Settlement of the Nations. His Majeſty complies, and Sir *Anthony* begins to put his Project in Execution in *Dorſetſhire*; he manages a Treaty with *Pool*, *Weymouth* and *Dorcheſter*, and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his Hands, as the other were to have been ſome few Days after; but Prince *Maurice* being in thoſe Parts, no ſooner heard of the Town's being ſurrender'd, but he marches directly into it, and gives the Plunder of it unto his Soldiers, which Sir *Anthony* beheld with the utmoſt Diſpleaſure, and it occaſion'd ſome hot Words between him and the Prince *; but the Violence was committed, and thereupon a very hopeful Deſign was fruſtrated. Now this was often the Manner of the King, which ſhow'd him ſo variable, that it tempted his Enemies to think, that he did not act from a

* *Lock*'s Poſthumous Works, p. 11.

Principle

Principle in his Overtures of Peace, becauſe he acted ſo unſteadily, changing as the Poſture of his Affairs changed.

K. *Charles* ſpoke different Language in his Letters to the Queen, from what he did in Treaties with the Parliament

AND what can be ſaid of his † Letters to the Queen, ſo perfectly inconſiſtent with his Profeſſions and Promiſes, upon Occaſion, to the Parliament, ſome of which fell into their Hands at the Battle of *Naſeby*. It ſeems the Queen appear'd very averſe to the *Uxbridge* Treaty; telling his Majeſty, "If any thing ſevere againſt "the Catholicks ſhould be concluded, and yet "a Peace not be made, the King could not "hope hereafter for any Aſſiſtance from the "Catholick Princes, or from the *Iriſh*, who "muſt needs think, that after they had done "their beſt, they ſhould at laſt be forſaken. "She often entreats the King that he would "never forſake the Biſhops, the Catholicks, nor "thoſe faithful Friends of his that had ſerv'd

† Theſe Letters were publickly read in *London*, before a great Number of Citizens, where many of both Houſes of Parliament were preſent; and Leave was given to as many as pleas'd, or knew the King's Hand, in order to refute the Calumnies of thoſe that ſaid the Letters were counterfeit, to peruſe them all; out of which a ſelect Number were printed by Command of the Parliament.

From the Reading of theſe Letters (adds my Author) many Diſcourſes of the People aroſe; for there appear'd his Tranſactions with the *Iriſh* Rebels, and with the Queen for Aſſiſtance from *France* and *Lorrain*. Many good Men were ſorry that the King's Actions agreed no better with his Words; that he openly proteſted before God with horrid Imprecations, that he endeavour'd nothing ſo much as the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and rooting out of Popery, and yet in the mean time he promis'd to the *Iriſh* Rebels an Abrogation of the Laws againſt them, contrary to moſt expreſs Promiſes, *viz.* that he would never abrogate the Laws againſt the Papiſts; and tho' he had declared he abhorred to think of bringing in Foreign Soldiers into the Kingdom, yet it now appear'd he ſolicited the *French*, *Lorrain*, the *Danes* and *Iriſh* for Aſſiſtance. Several were moved, to ſee the King ſo much ruled by the Will of his Wife, as to do every thing by her Preſcript; that Peace, War, Religion and Parliament, ſhould be at her Diſpoſal. *Breviary of the Hiſtory of Parliament*, p. 120.

" him in the Wars. The King promiſes her, " that he would never forſake his Friends for a " Peace, only perſuades her to haſten as much " as ſhe can the Aids from *France*; adding, that " while *London* is diſtracted between *Presbyterians* " and *Independants*, both may be ruin'd. And " in his Letter to the Queen upon the News " from *Montroſs* of his Victories in *Scotland*, " he tells her, She needs not fear his truſting " the Rebels, either by going to *London*, or diſ- " banding the Army before a Peace; adding, " *I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me at a far* " *dearer Rate, and pretend to have a little more* " *Wit (at leaſt by the Sympathy that is betwixt* " *us) than to put my ſelf into the Reverence of per-* " *fidious Rebels* *." This, and ſuch like, was the Language of his Letters; how well it agreed with the Language of his Treaties and Promiſes to the Parliament, was then enough conſider'd.

HIS Confidence in the Papiſts, and drawing them into his Aſſiſtance againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, muſt needs give great Umbrage; and muſt be reckon'd, no Queſtion, to the King as Part of his Meaſure of Guilt in the horrid Tragedy acted in the Nation. He ſolicits the *French* King (by the Queen) the Duke of *Lorrain*, and other Catholicks, to ſend over Forces; and, which to be ſure look'd with a worſe Face, enters into Meaſures with the *Iriſh* Cut-throats. He firſt concludes a Ceſſation of Arms with them, contrary to an Act of Parliament he himſelf had ſign'd, by which it was order'd, *That the War againſt thoſe bloody* Iriſh *Rebels ſhould proceed till it was declar'd by Parliament that* Ireland *was fully ſubdu'd; and that no Peace or any*

K. *Charles* enters into Meaſures with the *Iriſh* Rebels

* *Welwood*, p. 78.

Ceſſation

Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be made with them without Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. Afterwards he commanded *Ormond* to make Peace with them, and to promiſe and grant to them the free Exerciſe of the popiſh Religion; and to aſſure them, That if by their Aſſiſtance he could but finiſh his War in *England*, he would abrogate all thoſe Laws that were made againſt them: And the better to carry his Point with the Catholicks, the King impowers the Earl of *Glamorgan*, a zealous Papiſt, to treat with them, and to indulge them in whatever he ſhould think needful. The King's Letter to this Purpoſe I have put in the Margin †.

SEVERAL of theſe truſty Men, that had murder'd ſome hundred thouſand Proteſtants a little before, are now not only pardon'd by the King, but receiv'd into Favour, and are to be made uſe of againſt the Proteſtants in other Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions. Accordingly the Earl of *Antrim* agrees to join *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, with ten thouſand Men, which he perform'd in part. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the private Tranſactions between the King and

† CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to our truſty and well-beloved Couſin, *Edward*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Greeting: Being confident of your Wiſdom and Fidelity, We do by theſe Letters, as if under our Great Seal, grant unto you full Power and Authority to treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, and to indulge to them all thoſe Things which Neceſſity ſhall require; and which We cannot ſo commodiouſly do by our Lieutenant, nor our ſelf publickly own at preſent, therefore We command that you do this Buſineſs with as much Secreſy as can be: Whatſoever you ſhall think fit to be promis'd in my Name, that do I atteſt, upon the Word of a King and a Chriſtian, to grant to theſe Confederate Catholicks; who, by their Aſſiſtance, have abundantly ſhewed their Zeal towards Us and our Cauſe. Given at *Oxford*, under our Royal Seal, the 12th Day of *March*, and Twentieth Year of our Reign. *Breviary of the Hiſtory of Parliament*, p. 107.

thoſe *Iriſh* Butchers, which preſently came to Light, and what the Effects would be it is eaſy to gueſs; it would confirm many that they formerly acted by the King's Commiſſion in the Slaughter they made, and that now they were to be employ'd in the like Work. 'Tis no Wonder if the Parliament under ſuch Apprehenſions would not part with the Militia, and that they were for making ſure Terms with the King before they truſted him; and that ſome were for more violent Meaſures. In the mean time, who ſees not that the King brought a great deal of that Miſchief upon himſelf that befel him?

I DO not, by what I have ſaid, pretend to caſt all the Blame on one Side: Many will be ready to think, that when the King made ſo many healing Conceſſions to his Parliament in the Year 1640. a little more Credit was due to him; and if by Compliance with the King they had gain'd him, it may be they might have taken him out of ſuch Hands as abus'd him and them, and tempted him ſo much to forget his Promiſes.

THE laſt Treaty with the King was at the *Iſle of Wight*; and by whoſe Means, and upon what Views that was fruſtrated, is no Secret to ſuch as have read the Hiſtory of theſe Matters. The King conſents to moſt of the Parliament's Propoſitions for rectifying Abuſes both in Church and State; and objected againſt little more than utter aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, and the alienating the Biſhops, and the Dean and Chapters Land. In order to ſatisfy his Majeſty in the Queſtion concerning Epiſcopacy, ſome Presbyterian Divines were ſent to debate the Matter with ſome of the King's Chaplains, as Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, Dr. *Seaman*; who managed

The Diſpute between Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Divines in the *Iſle of Wight*.

managed the Controverſy with Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, &c. Each Side thought they had the better; "and the Parliament Di-"vines, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, came off with great "Honour." In the Concluſion Archbiſhop *Uſher* offer'd, as an Expedient, his *Reduction of Epiſcopacy* to the *Form of Presbytery*, which the King accepted. The greateſt Part of the Parliament were highly pleas'd with the King's Offers, which Mr. *Pryn* went over in a Speech of ſundry Hours long, and ſhew'd the Satisfactorineſs of his Majeſty's Conceſſions, and the Houſe voted them a ſufficient Ground of a perſonal Treaty with him; but when they were for bringing up his Majeſty in order to a Treaty, *Cromwell* and his Confidents in the Army interpoſe: They were afraid Things were tending too faſt towards a Coalition, and that their Deſigns ſhould be ſpoil'd, and therefore ſent a Remonſtrance to the Army (*Nov.* 10. 1648.) requiring, *That the King be brought to Juſtice, as the principal Cauſe of all the Evils of the Civil Wars: That a peremptory Day be ſet for ſummoning the Prince of* Wales *and the Duke of* York; *and if they refuſe to come, to declare them uncapable of Government and Succeſſion, and to ſtand exil'd as Traitors; and if they render'd themſelves, yet to be proceeded againſt for Satisfaction, and the Revenue of the Crown to be ſequeſtred: That publick Juſtice be done againſt the Actors in the late Wars: That their Arrears be paid, and requeſt a Period may be put to this Parliament, and new Repreſentatives choſen; and that no King ſhall be admitted for the future but by Election of and upon Truſt for the People, to be limited by the Repreſentatives.*

The Army prevent the Agreement between the King and Parliament.

"In the mean time (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) *Crom-*"*well*, &c. ſent Collonel *Pride* with a Party of "Soldiers to the Houſe, and ſet a Guard upon

"the

" the Door: One Part of the Houſe (who " were for them) they let in; another Part they " diſmiſs'd, and told them they muſt not come " there; and the third Part they impriſon'd " (the ſobereſt and worthieſt Members of the " Houſe) and all to prevent them from being " true to their Oaths and Covenants, and " loyal to their King." Mr. *Baxter* concludes, " To ſo much Rebellion, Perfidiouſneſs, Per- " jury and Impudence, can Error, Selfiſhneſs, " Pride of great Succeſſes, tranſport Men of the " higheſt Pretences to Religion."

The Papiſts have a chief Hand in the King's Death

BUT beſides this Faction that appear'd openly, there was another Party as deeply concern'd in the Tragedy as any, from the Beginning to the End of it: I mean the *Papiſts*, who ſtood behind the Curtain; not as mere Spectators, looking on while the Miſchief was a doing, but contriving and influencing; and, as ſecret Springs, ſetting all the Engines at work that were employ'd for the Nation's Deſtruction. Thus, when the Difference between King and Parliament began, they endeavour all they can to inflame and encreaſe their Jealouſies one of another; and 'tis ſuppos'd, that the moſt violent Pamphlets that were wrote on either Side were hammer'd on their Anvil, or promoted by their Inſinuations.

WHEN the Parliament was to ſit in *March*, 1626-7. a Society was taken in *Clerkenwel*, moſt of them *Jeſuits*; and the Houſe where they were found was to be a College for that Order. Among their Papers were found a Copy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Bruſſels*, upon the Subject of the enſuing Parliament. The Letter is at large in *Ruſhworth*.

WE

WE hope as much (ſay they) *in this Parliament, as ever we feared any in Queen* Elizabeth's *Days. We have planted the ſovereign Drug Arminianiſm, which we hope will purge the Proteſtants from their Hereſy. I can't chuſe but laugh to ſee how ſome of our own Coat have accoutred themſelves; You would ſcarce know them if you ſaw them; and 'tis admirable to ſee how in Speech and Geſture they act the Puritans. I am at this Time tranſported with Joy, to ſee how happily all Inſtruments and Means, as well great as leſs, co-operate to our Purpoſe.*

DR. *Kennet* †, mentioning this Letter, ſays, "The Senſe of it was only to ſhew, that the "Hopes of the Papiſts was only in the Diviſion of Proteſtants:" I may add, it alſo ſhews how diligent and well-pleaſed they were to promote thoſe Diviſions.

WHEN the War broke out, they diſpoſe themſelves ſome on one Side, ſome on the other; agreeable to a Maxim of the Jeſuits, *viz. To get among both Parties of contending Proteſtants, on purpoſe to ſerve their own Intereſts with both.* And we are ſufficiently inform'd, that both *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, thoſe famous *French* Politicians, had their Agents in *England* and *Scotland* continually at Work during the Civil Wars, as Mr. *Pryn* relates in his *Rome's Maſter-Piece*, wherein he ſhews, how the Jeſuits exaſperated the King and his Subjects one againſt another; endeavouring to perſuade his Majeſty ---- They were conſpiring againſt his Crown and Government, and to incenſe them againſt the King, as aiming at the Subverſion of their Laws, Liberties and Religion;

† Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 51.

that

that they ſtirr'd up the *Scots*, hindred all Accommodation between them; that there were fifty Jeſuits in *London*, who call'd themſelves, *The Congregation for propagating the Faith*: The Pope was Head of this College, and Cardinal *Barbarino* his Subſtitute and Executor; *Cuneus* was employ'd as the Pope's Legate, Chaplain, and Almoner to Cardinal *Richlieu*. And the Narrative tells us, he had Familiarity with the King, and ſet upon the chief Men of the Kingdom, and left no Means unattempted by which he might corrupt them all. It further tells us, how inſtrumental they were to promote Severity againſt the Puritans, and ſtir them up to the ſharpeſt Reſentment, and by all to kindle the Flame that they kept burning to the laſt, 'till we were conſumed. All this was diſcover'd by a Papiſt, upon Remorſe of Conſcience, to *Andreas ab Habernfield*.

AND it ſeems, when they thought Things ripe for it, they conſult about taking off the King. Dr. *Du Moulin* ſays, "That in the Year "1647, before the King's Death, there was a "Conſult in *England* of the whole Faction of "Jeſuits, about bringing the King to the "Block; and that the ſame Year a ſelect Number of *Engliſh* Jeſuits were ſent from their "whole Party in *England*, firſt to *Paris*, then "to *Rome*, with this Queſtion in Writing; *That* "*ſeeing the State of* England *was in a likely Po-*"*ſture to change their Government, whether it was* "*lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change, for* "*the advancing and ſecuring the Catholick Cauſe* "*in* England, *by making away the King, whom* "*there was no Hopes of turning from his Hereſy* †?"

† Anſwer to *Philopax Anglicus*, p. 56. Ed. 1679. See more Teſtimonies to this Purpoſe in Dr. *Calamy*'s Abridgment of *Baxter*'s Life, 2d Edit. Vol. I. p. 58.

For

For the Proof of this, he challenges the Papiſts to call him in Queſtion before our Judges. The Determination of this Queſtion at *Rome* was, *That it was for the Intereſt of the Catholick Cauſe that the King ſhould die, and accordingly their Council of Jeſuits at* London *voted his Death.* And the ſame *Du Moulin* tells us in another Place, "That when the News of that horrible Exe-"cution came to *Roan*, a Proteſtant Gentleman "of good Credit was preſent in a great Com-"pany of Jeſuits; where, after great Expreſſi-"ons of Joy, the graveſt in the Company ſpoke "much after this Sort; *The King of* England "*at his Marriage had promiſed to re-eſtabliſh the* "*Catholick Religion: We ſummon'd him from Time* "*to Time to perform it, and at laſt came ſo far as* "*to tell him, That if he would not do it, we ſhould* "*be forc'd to take thoſe Courſes that would bring* "*him to Deſtruction: We have given him lawful* "*Warning, and we have kept our Word to him* "*ſince he would not keep his Word to us.*" And it ſeems, they accompanied the King to the Scaffold, and acted a vile Triumph there. Mr *Spotſwood* ſays, "That riding by accidentally, "juſt as the Head was cut off, he eſpy'd the "Queen's Confeſſor in the Habit of a Trooper, "drawing forth his Sword, and flouriſhing it "over his Head in Triumph: And being chal-"leng'd by *Spotſwood*, he confeſs'd there were "forty or more Prieſts and Jeſuits preſent on "Horſe-back beſides himſelf †.

SINCE indeed, they have endeavoured to bring themſelves off by denying the Fact, and ſuppreſſing the Evidence againſt them. When *Du Moulin* publiſh'd his Narrative, 1662. the

† Fox's Neceſſary Vindication, p. 45.

Jeſuits

Jeſuits about the Queen-Mother at Somerſet-Houſe deſired Juſtice againſt him of the King by the Queen's Motion; but the Doctor ſtood to what he had wrote, and offer'd to prove it; and after frequently challeng'd them in print to except againſt it: And it ſeems, when the Fact was univerſally cried out of, the Pope (to ſave their Credit) commanded all the Papers about the Queſtion to be burnt. In Obedience to which Order, a Gentleman in *Paris* was demanded a Copy which he had of theſe Papers, but the Gentleman refuſed to deliver it; and afterwards ſhew'd it to a Proteſtant *, and related the whole Carriage of that Negotiation, with great Abhorrence of the Practice of the Jeſuits.

So that 'tis paſt all Queſtion, whoever are guilty or not guilty, the Papiſts are not innocent; ſometimes they have avow'd the Thing, and boaſted of it: And if at any Time they have chang'd their Note, 'tis but what they have done in other Caſes when Conveniency and Intereſt requir'd it.

Presbyterians vindicated from the Charge of taking off the King's Head.

BUT how come the Presbyterians to be left out here? Were not they the chief Rebels, that at firſt began the War, and at laſt imbru'd their Hands in Royal Blood? This we know paſſes for current Doctrine on the 30th of *January*; and yet when it is impartially examined it will be found a mere Slander. A few Remarks will ſet this Matter in a true Light: And firſt, let me obſerve, that they were Church of *England* Men that began the Quarrel with the King, and firſt drew the Sword againſt him, and not Presbyterians. This is confeſs'd by my Ld. † *Cla-*

Church of England-Men began the Quarrel.

* Dr. *Du Moulin.* † Vid. *Withers*'s Vindication of the Diſſenters from the Charge of Rebellion, where 'tis proy'd by more Inſtances.

rendon,

rendon, whom no Body ſuſpects to be partial towards the Presbyterians. He ſhews, that as the Nation at the Long Parliament was little inclin'd to the Papiſts, and leſs to the Puritans; but that there was generally a Submiſſion to the Government, and a ſingular Reverence to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*: So the leading Men in the Houſe of Commons were ſtanch Church-Men, the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who was the Parliament's General, and whoſe very Name rais'd an Army, was Epiſcopal. Our Hiſtorian ſays of him, That he was rather diſpleaſed with the Perſon of the Archbiſhop, and ſome other Biſhops (which was the common Caſe) than indevoted to the Function, and he was as much devoted as any Man to the Book of Common-Prayer (obſerve a Man at the Head of an Army againſt the King devoted to the Common-Prayer!) And the Admiral that ſeiz'd upon the King's Ships, and employ'd 'em contrary to his Command, and in the Service of the Parliament; Ld. *Clarendon* ſays of him, He never diſcover'd any Averſion to Epiſcopacy, but profeſs'd the contrary. Sir *John Hotham*, that ſhut the Gates of *Hull* againſt the King, and was the firſt Man proclaim'd a Traytor by him, was, ſays this Hiſtorian, very well affected to the Government, both in Church and State. And of *Pym*, who was a Perſon of the greateſt Influence in the Houſe, he ſays, Though he was an Enemy to the Arminians, yet he profeſs'd, to be very entire to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church. And the ſame Account is given of the other principal Members of the Parliament: Nay, we are told by the ſame great Author, That all thoſe who were countenanc'd by the Earl of *Eſſex*, or in his Confidence, were ſuch as deſir'd no other Alteration in the Church or Government, but only

only of the Persons who acted in it. And Mr. *Baxter* says, *That the great Officers in* Essex's *Army were Conformists, and some of them so zealous for the Liturgy and Dioceſans, that they would not hear a Man as a Miniſter that had not Epiſcopal Ordination.* And 'tis known, a noted Clergyman of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Williams*, Archbiſhop of *York*, accepted a Commiſſion from the Parliament, and went into their Army. Nor was he the * only Epiſcopal Clergyman that eſpous'd the ſame Cauſe. But I need not inſiſt upon Particulars, when according to the ſame Hiſtorian, whoſe Authority I here uſe, There were not above two in the Houſe of Lords that were

* Dr. *Gauden* was ſo far inclinable to the Parliament's Side, and oblig'd them to that Degree, by a Sermon preach'd before them, from *Zech.* 8. 19. *Love the Truth and Peace*, that the Houſe preſented him with a large Silver Tankard, with this Inſcription, *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento congregati Johanni Gauden*, &c. Afterwards, when he found the Parliament went beyond their firſt Pretenſions, he endeavour'd to redeem his Error, ſays my Author, bending to the contrary Extream; (in a Pamphlet call'd, *A true Account of the Author of a Book entitul'd*, Εικων Βασιλικη, printed 1692.) He adds, I am perſuaded it was this that put him upon deſigning and finiſhing the Εικων Βασιλικη (or the Pourtraiture of his Majeſty, &c.) for that Dr. *Gauden* (and not the King) wrote that Book (except the 16th and 24th Chapter, which were compoſed by Bp. *Duppa*.) The ſame Perſon affirms, from his own Knowledge, the Doctor having acquainted him with his Deſign, and ſhew'd him ſeveral Chapters while it was a-doing; and, it ſeems, ask'd him his Opinion about it: He reply'd, he doubted not it would be for the King's Reputation, but he ſtuck at the Lawfulneſs of it. The ſame Author publiſhes a *Memorandum* of the Earl of *Angleſey*'s (the Original of which he ſaw in *Millington*'s Hand, wrote upon a blank Leaf of the Εικων;) as follows.

"*Memorandum.* K. *Charles* II. "and the D. of *York* did both, "in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, 1675, (when I ſhew'd "them in the Lord's Houſe "the written Copy of this "Book, wherein are ſome "Corrections and Alterations "with the late King *Charles* "the Firſt's own Hand) aſſure "me, that this was none of "the ſaid King's compiling; "but made by Dr. *Gauden*, "Biſhop of *Exeter*, which I "here inſert for the undeceiving others in this Point, "by atteſting ſo much under "my Hand. *Angleſey.*

for

for the Diſſolution of Epiſcopacy: And if I remember right, he ſomewhere ſays, Not above three * profeſs'd Presbyterians in the Houſe of Commons; ſo that I think 'tis paſt Diſpute with reaſonable Men, if there was any Fault in oppoſing the King's Meaſures, and taking up Arms againſt him, it muſt be imputed to the Church of *England*; for they were firſt and deepeſt in the Quarrel.

(2.) IF the Presbyterians joyn'd with the Parliament, and took Part with them in the ſame Cauſe (as 'tis granted they did) and if they went too far in any Thing, this was but the common Infirmity of the Times: Who will juſtify all that was ſaid and done in the midſt of ſuch Confuſion, when the whole Na-

* But if theſe Men were not Presbyterians, how came they to aboliſh Epiſcopacy and the *Engliſh* Church-Government, and eſtabliſh Presbytery? I anſwer, That *Laud* and his Creatures had made that Sort of Government ſo diſtaſteful to a conſiderable Body of the Nation, that I ſuppoſe many begun to grow weary of it, though they deſired rather to change the Perſons, and moderate the Epiſcopacy, than to lay it aſide. But afterwards, the King's Succeſſes againſt the Parliament forc'd them to call in the Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*; who, apprehending the beſt Way to ſecure their own Model of Government, was to get the ſame eſtabliſh'd throughout the Iſland, inſiſt, that the *Engliſh* joyn with them in the Solemn League and Covenant, as the Condition of their uniting with them in the War. Lord *Clarendon*, ſpeaking of this Matter, ſays, that many of the greateſt Men both in the Parliament and the Army, had no Mind to alter the Government of the Church, but the *Scots* Propoſals (viz. the taking the Covenant) being ſent up in the Time of the greateſt Conſternation, (viz. when they were afraid of being conquer'd by the King's Forces, and made Slaves) they comply'd with them, as the only Terms on which Aſſiſtance could be had: So that they were Church-Men that firſt withſtood and drew their Sword againſt the King, who had no Inclination to change Church-Government, but many Things concurred to the doing it. *Laud*, and ſome others had really made their Government oppreſſive: The Presbyterians were joyn'd with them, and they were at laſt forced to take in the *Scots* upon Terms mentioned; and hence Biſhops and Liturgy came to be caſt out. Vid. *Withers* againſt *Agate*, Part II. p. 40.

tion was in ſo great a Ferment? Let the innocent Party caſt the firſt Stone. But why ſhould it be improv'd againſt the Presbyterians, as if they were the only Tranſgreſſors; eſpecially when they were not Principals in this Matter, but Acceſſaries?

(3.) SUPPOSE the Presbyterians of that Time were as guilty, as ſome have repreſented them (though very falſly) with what Juſtice do they charge it upon their Poſterity, or thoſe that ſucceed them in the ſame Profeſſion, and under the ſame Denomination? Have they by any publick Declaration approv'd what is imputed to their Fathers, *viz.* the murdering the King?

BUT 'tis pretended they are of the ſame Principles. I know not but they may in the main, *i. e.* they believe, if any flatter Kings into an Opinion of their own Abſoluteneſs, and draw them to rule arbitrarily, neglecting the Laws of the Land, that ſuch are Enemies to the Nation, and ought to be proceeded againſt accordingly; and that if there be no poſſible Way of ſecuring their Laws, Liberties and Religion, againſt ſuch as illegally invade them, and would ſubvert the very Foundations; 'tis lawful, and a Duty to defend them. This is the Principle the Church of *England* had at that Time, and exerted at the happy Revolution; or we had been Bonds-Men and Slaves without Remedy. But if they mean by the *ſame Principles*, the Principles of thoſe that cut off the King's Head, Principles levell'd at the Ruin of the King's Perſon, and the Deſtruction of the Monarchy; and that are inconſiſtent therewith: If the Presbyterians then had any ſuch, I dare be bold to ſay, their Succeſſors renounce them, as they do the extravagant Principles of thoſe, that make no Difference between Kings and Tyrants; and by their fulſome Flat-

teries, preach good Kings into Tyrants, to the Ruin of themſelves and their Subjects. But

(4.) There is no need to make any Apology for the Presbyterians in this Matter. They did not begin the War, tho' they joyn'd in it (ſome of them) as what they thought neceſſary and unavoidable; nor did they cut off the King's Head, or concur to it; it was done very much by the Influence of the Papiſts, and immediately by a * Faction in the Army, without Conſent of the Lords, and after they had excluded a conſiderable Number of the Commons: The Presbyterians in the mean Time, with no little Hazard to themſelves, remonſtrating againſt it before it was done, and proteſting againſt it afterwards: And this being what ſome don't know, and others will not, at leaſt muſt forget on a certain Day of the Year, or the Jeſt is ſpoil'd, I ſhall repreſent the Matter of Fact as it was.

Presbyterians proteſt againſt the Death of the King.

In *October* 1648. the General and the Army ſent to ſeveral of the City Miniſters to meet the Officers of the Army in their Conſultations about Matters of Religion; ſome of them, as Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, &c. attended them, and manifeſted a Diſlike of their Actions, and afterwards above Forty of the City Miniſters, ſent a Letter to the General, teſtifying their Concurrence with their Brethren aforeſaid, freely declaring againſt their ſeizing and impriſoning the Perſon of the King: And during the King's

* The Act for keeping the 30th of *January* obſerves, they did firſt ſeduce ſome Part of the then Army into a Compliance, did ſeize upon the King's Perſon, ſeized upon the Houſe of Commons, ſeclude and impriſon ſome Members, force out others, and there being left but a ſmall Remnant of the Whole, did ſeek to ſhelter themſelves by this weak Pretence under the Name and Authority of a Parliament.

Trial, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* entred their Proteſtation, how much they did abominate ſo horrid a Deſign againſt the King's Perſon; and when 'twas over, a Proclamation from the Privy-Council of *Scotland* declar'd, that the late King was, contrary to the Diſſent and Proteſtation of that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent Death; and when the Presbyterians about *London* ſaw what the Army was driving at, they publiſh'd their great Diſlike of the Thing, and in the moſt ſolemn Manner, when it might have coſt them dear. Their Paper was call'd, *A ſerious and faithful Repreſentation of the Judgment of the Miniſters of the Goſpel within the Province of* London, *in a Letter to the General and Council of War*, January 18. 1648. *deliver'd by ſome of the Subſcribers.* After a fit Introduction, they proceed thus:

"To this Vindication we are compell'd at "this Time, becauſe there were many who ve- "ry confidently (yet moſt unjuſtly) charge us "to have been formerly inſtrumental toward "the taking away the Life of the King; and "becauſe alſo there are others, who in their "ſcurrilous Paſquils and Libels (as well as with "their virulent Tongues) repreſent us to the "World as a bloody, ſeditious Sect, and trai- "terous Obſtructors of what all the godly Peo- "ple of the Kingdom do earneſtly deſire, for "the eſtabliſhing Religion and Peace, in that "we ſtick at the Execution of the King, while "yet we are (as they falſly affirm) content to "have him convicted and condemn'd, all which "we muſt and do from our Hearts diſdain be- "fore the whole World; for when we did firſt "engage with the Parliament (which we did "not till call'd thereunto) we did it with loyal "Hearts and Affections towards the King and

"his

" his Poſterity, not intending the leaſt Hurt to
" his Perſon, but to ſtop his Party from doing
" further Hurt to the Kingdom; not to bring
" his Majeſty to Juſtice, as ſome now ſpeak, but
" to put him into a better Capacity to do Ju-
" ſtice, to remove the Wicked from before him,
" that his Throne might be eſtabliſh'd in Righ-
" teouſneſs; not to dethrone and deſtroy him,
" which we fear is the ready Way to the De-
" ſtruction of all his Kingdoms. That which
" put any of us on at firſt to appear for the
" Parliament, was the Propoſitions and Orders
" of the Lords and Commons in Parliament
" (*June* 10. 1642.) for bringing in of Money
" and Plate, *&c.* wherein they aſſur'd us, that
" whatſoever ſhould be brought in thereupon,
" ſhould be employ'd upon no other Occaſion
" than to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the
" King's Authority, and his Perſon in his Royal
" Dignity; the free Courſe of Juſtice, the Laws
" of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and
" the Privileges of Parliament, againſt any Force
" that ſhall oppoſe them.

" As for the preſent Actings at *Weſtminſter*,
" ſince the Time that ſo many of the Members
" were by Force ſecluded, divers impriſon'd, and
" others thereupon withdrew from the Houſe
" of Commons (and there being not that Con-
" junction of the Two Houſes as heretofore)
" we are wholly unſatisfied therein, becauſe we
" conceive them to be ſo far from being war-
" ranted by ſufficient Authority, as that in our
" Apprehenſions they tend to an actual Altera-
" tion, if not Subverſion, of that which the
" Honourable Houſe of Commons, in their
" Declaration of *April* 17. 1646. have taught
" us to call the Fundamental Conſtitution and
" Government of this Kingdom; which they

" therein assure us (if we understand them)
" they wou'd never alter: Yea we hold ourselves
" bound in Duty to God, Religion, the King,
" Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before
" God, Angels and Men, that we verily believe
" that which is so much feared to be now in
" Agitation, the taking away the Life of the
" King in the present Way of Tryal, is con-
" trary to the Word of God, the Principles of
" the Protestant Religion (never yet stained
" with the least Drop of the Blood of a King)
" the Fundamental Constitution and Govern-
" ment of this Kingdom; as also to the Oath
" of Allegiance, the Protestation of *May* 5. 1643.
" and the Solemn League and Covenant: From
" all or any of which Engagements, we know
" not any Power on Earth able to absolve us or
" others; therefore according to our Covenant,
" we do, in the Name of the Great God, to
" whom all must give a strict Account, warn
" and exhort all who either more immediately
" belong to our respective Charges, or any
" way depend on our Ministry, or to whom we
" have administred the same Covenant (that
" we may not by our Silence suffer them to run
" into that provoking Sin of Perjury) to keep
" close to the Ways of God and the Rules of
" Religion, the Laws and their Vows, in their
" constant maintaining the true Reform'd Reli-
" gion, the Fundamental Constitution and Go-
" vernment of this Kingdom, as also in pre-
" serving the Privileges of both Houses of Par-
" liament, and the Union between the two
" Nations of *England* and *Scotland*; to mourn
" bitterly for their own Sins, the Sins of the
" City, Army, People and Kingdom, and the
" Miscarriages of the King himself (which we
" cannot but acknowledge to be many and great)

" in

" in his Government that have coſt the King-
" doms ſo dear, and caſt him down from his
" Excellency into a horrid Pit of Miſery, almoſt
" beyond Example; and to pray that God would
" give him effectual Repentance, and ſanctify
" that bitter Cup of Divine Diſpleaſure that
" Divine Providence hath put into his Hand;
" and alſo that God would reſtrain the Violence
" of Men, that they may not dare to draw upon
" themſelves and the Kingdom the Blood of their
" Sovereign, *&c.*"

THIS was ſubſcrib'd by about * Sixty Miniſters, and deliver'd as aforeſaid.

NOR did theſe Murderers of the King only proteſt againſt his Death, but mov'd for delivering him by Force out of his Enemies Hands;

* Corn. Burgeſs, *D. D.*
William Gouge, *D. D.*
Edward Stanton, *D. D.*
Thomas Temple, *D. D.*
George Walker,
Edmond Calamy,
Jer. Whitaker,
Dan. Cawdrey,
William Spurſtow, *D. D.*
Laz. Seaman, *D. D.*
Simeon Aſhe,
Thomas Caſe,
Nicholas Proſit,
Thomas Thorowgood,
Edward Corbet,
Henry Rowborough,
John Downham,
Arthur Jackſon,
Charles Offspring,
Samuel Clark,
John Wall,
Francis Roberts,
Samuel Bolton,
Mat. Haviland,
John Sheffield,
William Harriſon,
William Jenkin,
John Viner,
Elidad Blackwell,
John Croſs,
John Fuller,
William Taylor,
Peter Witham,
Francis Peck,
Chriſtopher Love,
John Wallis, *D. D.*
Tho. Manton, *D. D.*
Tho. Gouge,
William Blackmore,
Robert Mercer,
Ralph Robinſon,
John Glaſcock,
Thomas Whately,
Jonathan Lloyd,
Jonah Wells,
Benjamin Needler,
Nathaniel Stainforth,
Stephen Watkins,
Jacob Tice,
Jonathan Stileman,
Joſias Bull,
John Devereux,
Paul Ruſſel,
James Nalton,
Thomas Cawton,
Thomas Watſon,
William Wickins,
Joſhua Kirby,
Arthur Barham.

as Mr. *Baxter* tells us, whoſe Words are †: "The "Lord General *Fairfax* ſtood by all this while, "and with great Reſentment ſaw his Lieutenant "do all this by tumultuous Soldiers, trick'd "and overpower'd by him. At the King's "Death he (*Fairfax*) was in wonderful Per-"plexities; and when Mr. *Calamy* and ſome "other Miniſters were ſent to him, and would "have perſuaded him to reſcue the King, his "Troubles ſo confounded him that they durſt "let no Man ſpeak to him; and *Cromwell* kept "him (as it was ſaid) in praying and conſult-"ing till the Stroke was given, and then 'twas "too late to make Reſiſtance."

Presbyterians forward to reſtore King *Charles*.

I MIGHT further add, that theſe very Men (ſo freely charg'd with King-killing) were as zealous and active as any in the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. as has been own'd on all Hands, and can't with any Modeſty be denied; nay ſeveral of them ſuffer'd for adhering to his Cauſe during the Uſurpation, eight of them (Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watſon*, &c.) were committed to the *Tower*; and Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Gibbons* were beheaded for correſponding with his Friends in *Scotland*, and ſending Money for his Service: Mr. *Love* had been an Offender before, having wrote againſt the Deſigns of the prevailing Faction, and exclaim'd againſt the Sectaries for talking of the Neceſſity of taking off the King, and againſt the Army for entertaining Principles directly againſt Monarchy, which 'tis like was now remembred againſt him as an Aggravation of his Crime; and he went to his Death with the ſame Principles, declaring that he judg'd a mix'd Monarchy, ſuch as ours was, to be the beſt Government

† Mr. *Baxter's* Life, *p.* 63.

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in the World; and that he never was for putting the King to Death, tho' he oppos'd his Forces: He added, that he died with his Judgment not satisfied to take the Engagement, and that he would not be look'd upon as owning the present Government. And tho' all did not go as far as Mr. *Love* in opposing the Government that then was, yet several of the Ministers dislik'd it, and refus'd the Engagement (by which they were to promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of *England* as it was establish'd, without a King and House of Lords) and were turn'd out of their Places on that Account.

AND now I may appeal to all the Impartial among Mankind, Whether the Presbyterians murder'd the King? And whether there be any Justice or Modesty in the 30th of *January* Harangues, which so freely charge them with it, and that with all the Circumstances of Reproach imaginable, hereby prostituting the Pulpit and poysoning the Auditory?

I KNOW 'tis in vain to expostulate with peevish and unreasonable Men: But they would do well to consider, Whether they don't, by the Liberty they take on these Occasions, really pervert the Design of this *Anniversary* (for no Body can think it was appointed for Strife and Debate) and whether they don't, instead of attoning for the Guilt of the Nation, as they sometimes speak, greatly add to it; and by their misrepresenting the *English* Government, the Measures of Obedience due to the Sovereign, and slandering their Neighbours with what they abhor and are perfectly innocent of, sow Discord amongst Brethren, keep up our fatal Animosities, and cherish those Sparks that formerly broke out into a terrible Flame: This, I say, they should

ſhould calmly conſider; for whatever they deſign by their warm Declamations, they can have no other Tendency, than to inflame and turn Men into Wolves and Tygers one towards another, and ſend home the Auditory diſpos'd to devour thoſe whom they have ſeen at Church painted in the worſt Colours, and mark'd for Deſtruction.

BUT the Presbyterians fought againſt the King, deſtroy'd the Monarchy, and ſet up a Commonwealth, and are by Principle Enemies to Kings and Kingly Government, and only want the Opportunity to act over the ſame Tragedy.

TO call this Calumny, I grant, is no Anſwer; but I would put theſe Gentlemen in Mind, that when the Church of *England* drew the Sword againſt King *Charles* I. and the Presbyterians joyn'd with them, it was to preſerve the Legal Monarchy againſt ſuch as were for ſubverting it; and tho' it is true they ſubmitted to *Oliver*, it was only as to a Conqueror, not approving his Government. They ſtill preferr'd the antient Legal Conſtitution, and contributed all they could to the Reſtoration of it: And, 'tis well known, before *Cromwell* had uſurp'd the Throne, the *Scotch* Presbyterians invited King *Charles* among them, and had their Bones broken at *Dunbar* for eſpouſing his Cauſe. And tho' they refus'd not to live and breath under *Oliver*'s Government, and to enjoy his Protection in the Service of God, which was deny'd them under *Laud* and his Faction; yet they never own'd his Title, nor took the Engagement: I mean, many of them did not; and if ſome others did, ſeveral of the Epiſcopal

Upon what Principles the Presbyterians ſubmitted to *Oliver*.

† Episcopal Party did the same, and 'tis like upon the same Principles; and for the Tragedy of the King's Death that they are accus'd of, they are either innocent of that, or 'tis impossible for any to be innocent, whom their Ene-

† As Bishop *Sanderson*, and other Leading Men of that Persuasion. The Bishop not only took the Engagement, but wrote for it (*Nine Cases*, p. 94.) having prepared it for their Digestion, by a very favourable, tho' forced, Construction, as by *Established*, they only meant *De Facto*; and not *De Jure*; and by *Without a King and House of Lords*, they meant, *altho'* there were for a Time no King and House of Lords, so that their Sense seem'd to be this: I will be true to the Government of *England*, tho' at the present the King and House of Lords are put out of the Exercise of their Power. Mr. *Baxter*, in the mean Time, not only avoided the Covenant, and kept his People at *Kederminster* from taking it, and the Ministers of the Country generally from offering it to their People; but when the Engagement came out, he both spoke and wrote against it, and against that mollifying Sense that some put on it; which he thought mere juggling and jesting with Matters too great to be jested with, the obvious Sense of the Words as well as Meaning of the Imposers being very different.

When *Oliver* had actually got Possession, the Ministers were in great Straits how to carry it towards him, some declaring they would rather perish than submit to such deceitful Usurpations. Others thought they must comply with the present Necessity, and the Generality of them came to this Resolution: "That tho' it was unlawful for them to consent to any other Governour than the King, or to take an Engagement or Oath of Allegiance to another; nor must they either do or approve Evil for a good End, nor forbear in their Places seasonably to reprehend it; yet it was not unlawful for 'em to submit to Usurpers by living quietly, and to make use of the Courts of Justice establish'd by Law, yea and to demand Protection from 'em; for an Usurper's stepping into the Ruler's Place, obliges him to do all the Parts of a Governour's Office, and warranteth those that are under him to demand it, and accept it from him; but it does not oblige 'em to obey or consent to his Usurpation, even as we demand Justice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves." So that they agreed in this as their Duty, to keep the State of Things as entire as they could, till God was pleased to restore the King, that he might find it a whole and not a ruined, irreparable State. Mr. *Baxter* practised according hereto (as did others) seasonably condemning the Usurpation, both by Preaching and Printing; and once took occasion, in open Conference, to declare *Cromwell* and his Adherents guilty of Treason and Rebellion, aggravated with Perfidiousness and Hypocrisy. *Vide* Baxter's *Life abridged*, Vol. I. p. 109. 2d Edit.

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mies have a Mind to make guilty; they utterly diſown'd it, as has been ſaid, and proteſted againſt it in the moſt ſolemn Manner: So that ſtill to continue the Charge againſt them with all the Clamour and Noiſe that's uſual, muſt argue either groſs Ignorance or Malice, or both; for which, no queſtion, an Account muſt be given.

I NEED be at no Pains to apply all this to my preſent Purpoſe, and ſhow there was at that Time a great deal of Plotting carried on againſt the Reformed Religion and Civil Liberties of the Land: 'Tis manifeſt the Nation for above twenty Years was continually ſtrugling againſt Popery and arbitrary Power. Proteſtants were ſo artfully play'd one againſt another, that they were almoſt conſum'd one of another. And in ſhort, ſuch were the Convulſions the Kingdom ſuffer'd, and the Confuſions 'twas thrown into, that it ſeem'd a mighty Hazard into what Hands the Government ſhould fall; and whether the Proteſtant Faith and Worſhip, or Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, ſhould henceforth obtain; but Providence did not give us up: *Hitherto the Lord helped us.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Some Remarks on OLIVER's *Government.*

AS to what ſucceeded, I am willing the Reader ſhould call it *Anarchy*, *Confuſion*, *Uſurpation*, *Tyranny*, or what he pleaſes. It's known, the Government being thrown off its Hinges, was perpetually wavering, and never continued in the ſame State; but being modelled and ſupported by pure Violence, and the Power of the Sword, it varied and changed juſt as Succeſs follow'd the one Side or the other of the contending Uſurpers.

'TWAS by a ſtrange Mixture of Fraud and Force that *Oliver* got himſelf poſſeſs'd of the Sovereignty, under the Title of *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England; having ſign'd an Inſtrument as the Plan of his Government, conſiſting of Twenty four Heads, which he ſwore to in the following Terms: *I promiſe in the Preſence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matter contain'd in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerv'd; and in all Things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms thereof; and to ſeek their Peace, and cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.* "But this (ſays "*Coke*) tho' of his own making, *Oliver* regard-"ed no more than he did *Magna Charta*, which "he

" he call'd *Magna Farta:* He had indeed by " this Contrivance provided ſufficiently for his " own Power, obliging the Nation to maintain " him an Army of Twenty thouſand Foot and " Ten thouſand Horſe; and yet when he ſaw " Occaſion, he could vary from it at Pleaſure, " and trample upon it, as he did upon all the " Laws of the Land when they ſtood in his " Way; tho' before he took up Arms, as his " Pretence was, on purpoſe to defend them."

IT muſt be acknowledged that he ſupported his Character, both at Home and Abroad, in a Manner that was really extraordinary; made himſelf at leaſt fear'd where he was not lov'd; and in many Inſtances acted very much to the Reputation and Honour of the Kingdom. " *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſays *Coke*, (a Man not at all prejudiced in his Favour) " was never repleniſh'd " with more Learned and Upright Judges than " by him; nor was Juſtice, either in Law or " Equity, in Civil Caſes more equally diſtri- " buted, where he was not a Party." He humbled the *Algerine*, *Tripoli*, and *Tunis Pyrates*, by *Blake*, more than ever any before or ſince did. In ſhort, his Name was terrible thro' *Europe*. " It was hard to diſcover, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, " which fear'd him moſt, *France*, " *Spain*, or the *Low-Countries*, where his Friend- " ſhip was current at the Value he put upon " it: As they did all ſacrifice their Honour " and their Intereſt to his Pleaſure, ſo there was " nothing he could have demanded that either " of them would have denied him." Nay, ſo awful a Creature was this *Oliver*, that 'tis ſaid Cardinal *Mazarine* would change Countenance whenever he heard him mention'd; and it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, *That he was not ſo much afraid of the* Devil *as of* Oliver Cromwell: He would

would not allow, in his League with *France* against *Spain*, the *French* King to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas his Highness took to himself, not only the Title of *Protector of England*, but likewise of *France*; and in the Instrument of the Treaty the *Protector*'s Name was put before the *French* King's.

ONE Instance we have of his Greatness, that's very remarkable. There was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the *Protector* †, that if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it should immediately be deliver'd up to the *English*, and his Ambassador *Lockart* had Orders to take Possession of it accordingly: But it seems Orders had been given to the *French* General contrary to this Agreement; which *Cromwell* upbraided the Ambassador with at *Whitehall*. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the Matter; as indeed he did not. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, says, *Here is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order; and I desire you to dispatch immediately an Express to let him know that I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Towns of* Dunkirk *to* Lockart *within an Hour after it shall be taken, tell him I'll come in Person and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. Which so affrighted the *French* Court, that the Duke and Mareschal of *Crequy* was dispatch'd into *England* Ambassador Extraordinary to compliment *Cromwell*, attended by a numerous Train of Persons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and a Nephew of *Mazarine*, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the *Protector*, full of Expressions of Respect; assuring his Highness, that nothing but the King's Indisposition could

† Vide *Wellwood*'s Memoirs.

have

have hindred him to have come over to *England*, that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the Greateſt Men that ever was; and whom, next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve.

TWO Things notably ſerv'd his Deſigns, the Secreſy of his Councils, and the Diligence of his Spies Abroad. 'Tis ſaid, he ſeldom truſted any Body in Matters of Importance but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and not always him. Once coming into the Secretary's Office, and entering upon Buſineſs of great Conſequence, he took notice that one of the Clerks (Mr. *Moreland*, afterwards Sir *Samuel Moreland*) was in the Room, ſeeming to be aſleep on a Deſk; but fearing he might hear their Diſcourſe, drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch *Moreland* upon the Spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt; aſſuring him that *Moreland* had ſat up two Nights together, and was now certainly aſleep.

AND for his Intelligence, no Expence was ſpar'd to procure it; particularly he knew the Affairs of King *Charles* II. in his Exile ſo perfectly well, that nothing eſcap'd him: Of which we have an Inſtance in an *Engliſh* Nobleman, that he had given Leave to Travel, on Condition he ſhould not ſee *Charles Stuart*. Upon his Return he ask'd him, if he had punctually obey'd his Command: To which the other anſwer'd he had. *Cromwell* reply'd, *'Tis true, you did not ſee him; for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to meet him in the Dark*, the Candles being put out for that End; and withal, told him the Particulars that paſt in Converſation between the King and him at their Meeting. Nay, it ſeems his Intelligence reach'd to the

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moſt ſecret Tranſactions of moſt other Princes, with whom he had any Concern; whilſt in the mean Time his own Councils were lock'd up in his own Breaſt.

HE ſhew'd a more than ordinary Zeal in the Matters of Religion: He had a glorious Form of it himſelf, and could talk like a Saint of the firſt Magnitude. Mr. *Baxter* ſays of him, "That he appear'd to have a Deſign of doing "Good in the Main, and promoting the Goſpel, "more than any had done before him, except "in thoſe Particulars which his own Intereſt "was againſt." He adds, "It was the prin-"cipal Means that he truſted to, after he was "got into the Saddle for his Eſtabliſhment, *viz.* "his doing Good; that the People might love "him, or at leaſt be eaſy under his Government "for the Sake of the Good he did, who were "againſt it as it was a Uſurpation."

ONE of the moſt popular Things he did, was the reforming the Miniſtry: To which purpoſe he choſe a Society, conſiſting of Miniſters and others; who, under the Name of *Triers*, examin'd all that came for Inſtitution or Induction, and without their Approbation none were admitted. Such as could came up to *London* to be examin'd; others were referr'd to Miniſters in the County where they liv'd: And with all their Faults, *ſays my Author* *, it muſt be ſaid of theſe *Triers*, that they did a great deal of Good to the Church; they ſav'd many a Congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken Teachers. That Sort of Miniſters that either preach'd againſt an holy Life, or preach'd as Men that never were acquainted with it; all thoſe that us'd the Miniſtry but as a common

* Mr. *Baxter.*

Trade to live by, and were never like to convert a Soul; all theſe they uſually rejected, and in their Stead admitted any that were ſerious, able Preachers, and liv'd a godly Life, of what Opinion ſoever they were, that was tolerable: And I preſume I may ſay, that the main Body of the Pariſh Miniſters at that Time were ſuch as the Nation has not enjoy'd ſince (I mean for a ſerious Senſe of Religion, and a hearty Regard for the Intereſt of Souls, in the Diſcharge of their Office) tho' 'tis granted the Generality of them made no great Improvements in Learning, many of their Writings were heavy, and ſome downright Enthuſiaſtick; but few ſet themſelves to cultivate the more recondite and ſecret Parts of Learning, which has ſince been done with much Succeſs, and to their great Honour, by many Great Men of the Church of *England*. But even in this Particular their Caſe will admit of Apology. I doubt not but I may ſay, that ſome of their Writings, both upon learned and more practical Subjects, were as valuable as the World has yet ſeen, and that they were not more generally ſo may be accounted for. They were kept buſy in dreſſing the Vineyard, that Sluggards had ſuffer'd to be all grown over over with Thorns, and in repairing the Deſolations that the High Commiſſion Court, the Book of Sports, and playing at Foot-ball on Sundays, inſtead of the unlawful Exerciſes of Afternoon-Sermons, *&c.* had made; a great deal of their Time was neceſſarily taken up in combatting thoſe ſtrange Monſters of Doctrine, rais'd up by wild Sectaries and Enthuſiaſticks. Hence ſome Men that diſcover'd no mean Genius were unhappily diverted in their Studies and Writings; and yet what they did might be neceſſary at that Time, as an Antidote

tidote against present Evils, and be found more to Account at last, than Translating and Writing Notes on *Horace*, or putting a new Coat on a ragged Father, *&c.* And besides, it should be consider'd that every Age has its peculiar Opinions, Notions and Studies; to which Men of Learning and Capacity are drawn to attend, tho' with less Improvement to themselves, and Advantage to the Church. I doubt not but there are several Questions discuss'd in this Age, as particularly about the *Validity of Baptism*, *Sacerdotal Powers*, &c. which will afterwards appear as contemptible, as what was wrote heretofore about *Fides quæ* and *Fides quâ* in Justification, *&c.* So that upon the whole, I shall stand to it, that the Parish Clergy of that Time were such generally as would have been an Ornament and Blessing to any Church in the World; and if I might say it without Offence, I'm sure I say it with a due Deference to the Learning and Piety of some of the Clergy of the Church of *England* (whom I look upon to be as valuable Men as any Part of the Christian Church can show) should the present State of the Parishes of *England* in most Places be compar'd with what 'twas then, they would be found to differ as much *(absit invidia)* as *Kedar* from *Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding little Honour or Thanks belongs to *Cromwell*, who did too manifestly make Religion subservient to his own Ambition, and espouse the Interest of it only so far as it might promote his own Interest.

As for his Government it was usurp'd, and he might be call'd doubly a Tyrant, according to that Distinction of the Civil Law, *Tyrannus Titulo, & Tyrannus Exercitio*: He had neither Title to Government, nor did he govern by Law; as he had a main Hand in taking off the

King: He lays by the Houſe of Lords, new models that of the Commons, and in effect always choſe his own Parliaments, and then uſes them as he pleaſes. He was, in ſhort, Abſolute; nor would he ſuffer any Contradiction of his Power and Authority when he had a Mind to exert it. My Lord *Clarendon* gives a lively Inſtance of this: Having laid an extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, tho' a former Confident of *Oliver*'s, refus'd to pay his Part, and diſſuaded others from paying, as being againſt the Law and the Property of the Subject. *Cromwell* ſent for him, put him in Mind of old Kindneſſes. The Man, however, is reſolute, and preſumes to remember his Highneſs, how great an Enemy he had expreſs'd himſelf formerly to be to ſuch Grievances; having declared that all thoſe who ſubmitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were more to blame, and greater Enemies to their Country, than thoſe who had impos'd them; and that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the Tameneſs and Stupidity of the People. Upon which *Oliver* commits the ſaucy Man to Priſon; ſends *Maynard* to the *Tower* for pleading as Council in Behalf of the Priſoner; ſeverely reprimanded the Judges; and when they mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, told them, with Terms of Contempt and Deriſion, their *Magna Farta* ſhould not controul his Actions; which he knew were for the Safety of the Commonwealth.

BUT I will not tire the Reader with more Particulars of this Government; which I deſign'd to have paſs'd over in a few Words: Shall only obſerve, that tho' the *Protector* had render'd himſelf awful, yet he had the Love of very few of his People; which he was ſenſible of,

of, and therefore 'tis ſaid always wore a Coat of Mail under his Cloths, and a private Dagger. Moſt look'd upon him no other than a Succeſsful Tyrant, and hated him accordingly. *Coke* ſays, he was hated of all Factions, as much as of the Royaliſts, and that he had nothing to truſt to but a mercenary Army; and above half of theſe would have been content to have his Throat cut. One bold Man, *William Allen*, writes a Pamphlet, which he call'd, *Killing no Murder*; and not only ſets his Name to it, but addreſſes it to *Oliver* himſelf. The Deſign of which, as he * profeſſes, was to perſuade ſome Body to kill him, for the Good of the Commonwealth, and to prove that it would be no Sin to do it.

BUT notwithſtanding this, and all the Attempts againſt his Life, he died in his Bed, *September* 3. 1658. The Lord *Clarendon* gives this Character of him: "That he was one of "thoſe Men, whom his very Enemies could "not condemn, without commending him at "the ſame Time; for he could never have done "half that Miſchief without great Parts, Cou-"rage, Induſtry and Judgment: That he at-"tempted thoſe Things, which no Good Man

* He tells his Highneſs, how he will interpret his Paper he knows not; *but adds*, I can with Confidence ſay, my Intention is to procure your Highneſs that Juſtice, which yet no Body does you. To your Highneſs belongs the Honour of dying for the People; and it cannot chuſe but be of unſpeakable Conſolation to you in the laſt Moments of your Life, to conſider with how much Benefit to the World you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only, my Lord, the Titles you now uſurp will be truly yours: You will then be, indeed, the Deliverer of your Country: We ſhall then have hope, that other Laws ſhall take place, beſides thoſe of the Sword; and that Juſtice ſhall otherwiſe be defin'd, than the Will and Pleaſure of the Strongeſt. 'Tis by your Death that we hope for our Inheritances: And to haſten this great Good, is the chief End of my writing this Paper, &c.

" durſt have ventur'd on; and atchiev'd thoſe, " in which none but a Valiant and Great Man " could have ſucceeded." *He concludes*, " That " he had ſome great Qualities, which have " cauſed the Memory of ſome Men in all " Ages to be celebrated, and he will be look'd " upon by Poſterity, as a brave Wicked " Man. "

RICHARD CROMWELL his Son ſucceeded as *Protector*; but finding the People diſcontented, and the Government troubleſome, willingly reſign'd it. And now every one that can, is for being uppermoſt. The unhappy People are toſs'd about ſtrangely, and the Government paſſes thro' the Hands of a *Council of State*, *Committee of Safety*, &c. and appears in ſuch odd Shapes, that the Nation being heartily weary of their Confuſions, reſolve, as one Man, to bring back the King; in which the Presbyterians concurr'd with a forward Zeal, looking upon his Reſtoration a National Mercy. But, alas! they ſoon found what one of the *Scotch* Miniſters (ſent to attend him in *Holland*, Mr. *Livingſtone*) is reported to have ſaid, when they forced him on Board with his Majeſty, That they were bringing God's heavy Wrath to *Britain*.

CHAP. X.

Attempts for Union at the Reſtoration. The Propoſals of the Presbyterians *to that Purpoſe. King* Charles's *Declaration, containing Terms of Union.* Baxter's *Plot, contriv'd to introduce the Uniformity Act. Severities encreas'd againſt the* Diſſenters *in* England *and* Scotland. *King* Charles *ſets up arbitrary Power.* Non-Reſiſtance *eſtabliſh'd by Law.*

KING *CHARLES* II. begins his Government with many fair Promiſes, as if he was reſolved to make all his Subjects eaſy and happy; accordingly every Party had their Eyes directed to him with no little Expectation. The *Presbyterians* ſent over ſeveral of their Number, to wait upon him in *Holland*; as, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Caſe*, &c. The King receives them with great Marks of Favour and Reſpect, and it ſeems took care ſo notably to act the Part of his Grandfather, that ſome of the Miniſters thought they had got a Saint to be their King: He knew how to bewail the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and could talk of the Power of Godlineſs as fluently as if he had been Pupil all his Days to a *Puritan:* And to carry the Jeſt a little further, when ſettled upon

King *Charles* flatters the Presbyterians and pretends to be for Union.

the Throne, ſeveral of the *Presbyterians* were taken into the Number of his Chaplains; as, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Baxter*, &c. Some of 'em had the Honour to preach before his Majeſty; Mr. *Baxter* particularly, who from *Heb.* xi. 1. made a very ſolemn Diſcourſe about the Life of Faith; and printing the Sermon, ſtil'd himſelf, *Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty*; deſiring, I ſuppoſe, to teach King *Charles* to live by Faith.

THESE Gentlemen had for a Time free Acceſs to the King, and took all Opportunities to propoſe an Union, and to confirm his Majeſty in the good Reſolutions he had ſignify'd in his Declaration, *April* 14. 1660. from *Breda*. The King receives the Motion with great Approbation, and tells 'em, "If an Agreement was not "effected between the two Parties, it ſhould "be long of themſelves, and not of him; nay, "that he was reſolv'd to compaſs Union, and "that he would draw the contending Parties "together, and therefore deſired 'em to offer "ſuch Propoſals as they thought neceſſary, in "order to an Accommodation." The Miniſters, after ſome Conſultation among themſelves, bring in their Propoſals to his Majeſty, with their humble Addreſs, by Way of Preliminary, they deſired theſe four Things: "That ſerious "Godlineſs might be countenanced; a learned "and pious Miniſter in each Pariſh encoura-"ged; that a perſonal, publick owning the "Baptiſmal Covenant might precede an Ad-"miſſion to the Lord's Table; and that the "Lord's-Day be ſtrictly ſanctify'd." And thereupon they offer'd to allow of the true, antient, primitive Preſidency in the Church, with a due Mixture of Presbyters, in order to the avoiding

Propoſals for an Accommodation between Presbytery and Epiſcopacy offer'd by the Presbyterians.

ing the Corruption, Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils, which are incident to the Adminiſtration of a ſingle Perſon. The Things which they principally blam'd in the *Engliſh* Frame, were the great Extent of the Biſhops Dioceſſes; their deputing Commiſſaries, Chancellors and Officials to act in their Stead; their aſſuming the whole Power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, and acting ſo arbitrarily in Viſitation Articles; bringing in new Ceremonies, and ſuſpending Miniſters at their Pleaſure. And for reforming theſe Evils, they propos'd that Biſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction of Epiſcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government, receiv'd in the antient Church, ſhould be the Ground-work of an Accommodation; and that Suffragans ſhould be choſen by the reſpective Synods; the Aſſociations be of a moderate Extent; the Miniſters be under no Oaths, or Promiſes of Obedience to their Biſhops, as being reſponſible for any Tranſgreſſion of the Law; and the Biſhops govern not by Will and Pleaſure, but according to the Rules, Canons and Conſtitutions, that ſhould be ratify'd and eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament. As to the Liturgy, they own'd the Lawfulneſs of a preſcrib'd Form of Publick Worſhip; but deſir'd that ſome pious, learned, and moderate Divines of both Sorts might be employ'd either to compile a new Liturgy, or to reform the old; adding ſome other various Forms in Scripture-Phraſe, to be us'd at the Miniſters Choice. As to the Ceremonies, they humbly repreſented that the Worſhip of God was perfect without them; that God hath declar'd himſelf in Matters of Worſhip, a jealous God; that the Reform'd Churches abroad, moſt of 'em, rejected the Ceremonies that were retain'd here in *England*; ever ſince the Reformation,

mation, they had been Matters of Contention and Diſpute, that they had occaſion'd the Silencing of many pious and uſeful Miniſters, and given Riſe to many Separations from the Church; that they were at beſt but indifferent, and in their own Nature mutable, and therefore they begg'd that Kneeling at the Sacrament might not be impos'd; that the Surplice and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, rather than *Chriſt* or *Emmanuel*, might be aboliſh'd: and that Care might be taken to prevent future Innovations, contrary to the Law; that ſo the publick Worſhip might be free, not only from Blame, but Suſpicion.

The Epiſcopal Party reject the Propoſals of Presbytery.

ALL this while they never had the Favour of converſing with their Brethren of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion, tho' they had earneſtly deſir'd it, and it had been promis'd by his Majeſty: But at laſt, after they had deliver'd in their Propoſals, they receiv'd an Anſwer to 'em, which promis'd little Succeſs to thoſe, or any other Endeavours in order to Peace. In general, they let them know, That they don't ſee any thing is wanting in their Government, or that any thing needs to be added to it; declare againſt any Alterations. Biſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction they reject, as inconſiſtent with other of his Diſcourſes, and as being at beſt but a Heap of private Conceptions. The Liturgy they applaud, as unexceptionable, nor will they part with one of their Ceremonies *; inſiſting, that if any Abatements were made, unquiet Spirits would be thereby encourag'd to further Demands.

SOME Time after the King puts forth a Declaration, which contain'd thoſe Conceſſions

* Vide *Baxter*'s Life abridg'd.

that

that were to unite them. The Miniſters had a Copy of the Declaration ſent to 'em before 'twas publiſh'd, and Liberty granted them to take Notice of ſuch Things as they thought inconſiſtent with the deſir'd Union. Accordingly, having perus'd it, they drew up a Petition to the King, and joyn'd with it ſome Remarks on the Declaration; but being deliver'd to the Lord-Chancellor, he dropp'd it, and never call'd them to preſent it to the King.

The King's Declaration, containing Terms of Union.

WHEN the Declaration came forth, it was in the main very acceptable to the *Presbyterian* Miniſters, and was thought to comprehend ſufficient Terms of Concord; ſo that if it could have been paſs'd into a Law, many of the Miniſters would have accepted it, and a Multitude of *Presbyterians* would have thereby been brought into the Church: But this, 'tis known, could not be obtain'd, by reaſon of the Stiffneſs of the Epiſcopal Party, tho' ſome of themſelves have ſince applauded it as a moſt excellent Expedient for healing the Church. Dr. *Kennet* ſays, "This Declaration has a Spirit of Truth, "and Wiſdom, and Charity, above any one "publick Profeſſion that was ever yet made in "Matters of Religion; it ſhews the admira-"ble Temper and Prudence of the King and "his Council in that tender Juncture of Affairs:" He adds, "It proves the Charity and Modera-"tion of the Suffering Biſhops, in thinking ſuch "Conceſſions to be juſt and reaſonable for Peace "and Unity." But how it proves this I cannot imagine, when 'tis certain they were neither pleas'd with theſe Terms of Union, nor were for Union upon any Terms. He goes on (which will be granted) "It condemns the unhappy "Ferments that ſoon after follow'd, for want "of coming to a Temper, and it may ſtand for

"a

" a Pattern to Poſterity, whenever they are " heartily diſpos'd to reſtore the Diſcipline, and " heal the Breaches of the Church *." The Doctor ſhould at leaſt, one would think, have lamented the want of this Temper in his Brethren, and have paſs'd a gentle Cenſure upon them for refuſing what he ſo much applauds, eſpecially when he uſes ſo much Freedom on the other Side. Another Learned Conformiſt, ſpeaking of the ſame Declaration, ſays, " A " divine Sentence was in the King's Mouth, and " he erred not in Judgment, when he compos'd " it; and that, next to the holy Scripture, he " ador'd it, and thought that the united Judg- " ment of the whole Nation could not form a " more † unexceptionable Expedient for a firm " and

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 229.

† This Declaration being the moſt promiſing Step, that was taken in that Reign towards compoſing the Difference among the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, I ſhall recite the chief Paſſages of it. How much, ſays his Majeſty, the Peace of the State is concern'd in the Peace of the Church, is evident to the World. In our Letter from *Breda*, we declar'd how much we deſir'd the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion; and that we hoped in ſome time, to propoſe ſome Things for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfy the World that we have always made it our Care and our Study: And the Truth is, we think ourſelf more competent to determine many Things now in Difference, from the Time we have ſpent, and the Experience we have had in moſt of the Reform'd Churches abroad. When we were in *Holland*, we were attended by many grave and learned Miniſters from hence, the principal Aſſertors of the Presbyterian Opinions, and found them, to our great Satisfaction, Perſons full of Affection for us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies to Epiſcopacy nor Liturgy; but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations in either, as, without ſhaking Foundations, might beſt allay the preſent Diſtempers: For the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a Remedy for Differences in Religion; and in the mean time we publiſh'd in our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to Tender Conſciences; and that no Man ſhould be call'd in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent

"and lasting Concord of the distracted Churches." Yet 'tis known, this unexceptionable Expedient was

sent to an Act of Parliament for the full granting that Indulgence. And having signify'd his high Approbation of the Church of *England*, and his Resolution to maintain it, he adds, That the Government of it, as antient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy, has always, in some Respect or Degrees, been enlarg'd or restrain'd, as has been thought most conducive to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; and therefore we have not the least Doubt, but that the present Bishops will think the present Concessions, now made by us, to allay the present Distempers, very just and reasonable, and will very chearfully conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do in the first Place declare our Resolution to promote the Power of Godliness, and to encourage the Exercise of Religion, both Publick and Private; and to take Care that the Lord's-Day be applied to holy Exercises; that negligent and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church; that the Bishops be Men of Learning and Piety, and frequent Preachers.

2. Because that some of the Dioceses are thought to be of too large Extent, we will appoint a sufficient Number of Suffragan Bishops.

3. No Bishops shall ordain or exercise Jurisdiction, without the Assistance of the Presbytery; and no Chancellors, Commissaries, or Officials, shall execute Excommunication, Absolution, or any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction, wherein any of the Ministry are concern'd, with reference to their Pastoral Charge.

4. To the End that the Deans and Chapters may be better fitted to assist the Bishops, we will take care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Dioceses: And moreover, that an equal Number to those of the Chapter, of the most learned and pious Presbyters of the same Dioceses, be annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of the Dioceses, to assist in all Ordinations, and every Part of Jurisdiction, *&c.*

5. We will take care that Confirmation be solemnly perform'd, by the Information and with the Consent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit none to the Lord's-Supper till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promis'd Obedience to the Will of God: And besides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every Rural Dean, together with three or four Ministers of the Deanry, chosen by the major Part of all the Ministers within the same, shall meet once every Month, to receive Complaints from the Ministers or Church-Wardens of their respective Parishes; and to convince Offenders, and reform what's amiss, by their Pastoral Reproofs and Admonitions, *&c.*

6. No Bishop shall impose any thing upon the Clergy or People, but according to Law.

7. Tho' we conceive the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to be the best we have seen, yet since some except against several Things in it, we will appoint an equal Number of both Persuasions to peruse the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought necessary,

was excepted againſt; and, when the *Presbyterians* would have united upon the Terms of it, could not be granted. All it produc'd, was a Conference between a certain Number of Miniſters of both Parties, appointed by his Majeſty's Commiſſion to meet together, and review the Liturgy. They met accordingly at the *Savoy*, and the Biſhops, before they would enter into any Debates with 'em, require of the *Presbyterians* to bring in their Exceptions; which they did, and engaged in a formal Diſpute upon the Subject. But, alas! it was ſoon ſeen that the Biſhops, *&c.* never intended any Accommodation; and that the Conference was rather deſign'd for an Occaſion of falling out, than Agreement.

ceſſary, and ſome additional Forms (in the Scripture-Phraſes as near as may be) ſuited unto the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip; and that it be left to the Miniſter's Choice to uſe one or other, at his Diſcretion. And our Will and Pleaſure is, that none be puniſh'd for not uſing the Common-Prayer until it be review'd, and effectually reform'd as aforeſaid.

8. Concerning Ceremonies, our preſent Conſideration and Work is, to gratify the private Conſciences of thoſe who are griev'd with the Uſe of them, by indulging to, and diſpencing with their omitting thoſe Ceremonies. We will, that none ſhall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, tho' they don't uſe the Geſture of Kneeling in the Act of Receiving. We are content that no Man ſhall be compell'd to uſe the Croſs in Baptiſm, or ſuffer for not doing it; that no Man be compell'd to bow at the Name of *Jeſus*, or uſe the Surplice: And becauſe ſome Men, pious and learned, can't conform to the Subſcription requir'd by the Canon, nor take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, we are content they receive Ordination, Inſtitution, Induction, *&c.* without; that no Man be depriv'd upon the Statute of the 13th of *Elizabeth*, ſo he declare his Aſſent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments. And having repeated his Reſolution, that none ſhall be diſquieted for different Opinions in Matters of Religion, he conjures all his loving Subjects to acquieſce in this Declaration concerning Differences, which have ſo much diſquieted the Nation at home, and given ſuch Offence to the Proteſtant Churches abroad. Dated at *Whitehall*, *Octob.* 25. 1660.

DR.

DR. *Nichols* imputes it to their Reſentment of their late Sufferings, that they were ſo ſtiff not to change *Deadly Sin* in the Liturgy, which the Miniſters objected againſt as improper; but ſurely there is little Honour in this Apology, which implies, they would ſacrifice the Peace of the Church to their own Paſſions. The Truth on't is, they were determin'd againſt any Union with the *Presbyterians*: All the Uſe that ſome of them deſign'd to make of this Treaty, was only to know upon what Terms the Miniſters might be brought into the Church, that they might more effectually provide to exclude them; ſo that Archbiſhop *Sheldon* is reported to have ſaid, *Now we know their Minds, we will make them all Knaves if they conform.* And when a certain Gentleman ſhew'd ſome Regret that the Door was ſo ſtrait, that he fear'd many ſober Miniſters could not have Admiſſion, a certain Dean reply'd, *If we thought ſo many of them would have conform'd, we would have made it ſtraiter.* Nay, it ſeems, ſo tenacious were they of all their antient Poſſeſſions, that when ſome of thoſe Things came to be debated in the Convocation Houſe, a Reverend Doctor comes out in a Sort of Tranſport, ſaying, *That they had carried it for* Bell *and the* Dragon. And thus the good Deſign of the King's Declaration was fruſtrated: *Bell* and the *Dragon*, and all the reſt, kept their Place.

Epiſcopal Party abſolutely againſt any Accommodation.

AND now Things ſoon return'd to their former Channel; the Spirit of Perſecution is rais'd again; and the Old Plot, in all its Branches, againſt the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberties, reviv'd and carried on with the uſual Zeal. This will appear upon a ſhort View of the Maxims, Meaſure, and Tranſactions of King *Charles* the IId's Reign.

AND

Differences fomented between both Parties, and the Diſſenters marked for Sufferings.

AND I ſhall firſt take Notice of the Contrivance of our Enemies to keep up Animoſities among the *Engliſh* Proteſtants: One Party is ſet to oppreſs and devour another; which was of the moſt fatal Conſequence; and was, no Queſtion, owing in ſome Degree to popiſh Counſels. That Body of Men that ſucceeded the old *Puritans*, and that had not only ſtood firm to the Principles of the Reformation, but were for improving it, and retiring farther from *Rome*; theſe were made the Objects of a peculiar Spite, and put under very great Hardſhips.

A Presbyterian Plot contriv'd to introduce the Uniformity Act.

AFTER the Treaty at the *Savoy*, which was never intended for Union by ſome of the chief Managers, but was really all Grimace, a Reſolution is taken, not only to caſt theſe Men out of the Church, but to ſhut the Door againſt them for ever: To which Purpoſe the Act of Uniformity was contriv'd; and that it might paſs the more currently, ſome have recourſe to a Stratagem infamous to a Degree, and that was to trump up a Plot againſt the Government, and father it upon the *Presbyterians:* A particular Account of which was publiſh'd by Captain *Tarrington* in the Year 1681. and from him in ſeveral Books ſince, as alſo by Mr. *Baxter* in his Life, who was made a Party in it.

CAPTAIN *Tarrington* gives us both the Plot and the Occaſion of it: Speaking of the King's Declaration mention'd before, he ſays, "If the "Parliament had paſs'd it into an Act, it had "probably cemented the greateſt Part of the "Proteſtants throughout the Nation; but ſome "both of the Clergy and Laity, that bore the "greateſt Sway, rejected it; and ſo his Majeſty's "good and peaceable Intentions prov'd abor-"tive. Theſe Men (by whoſe Inſtigations you "may imagine) inſtead of an Act of Union re-

"ſolve

" ſolve upon an Act of Uniformity, which they " could not but know would prove the greateſt " Bone of Contention that ever was in the Na- " tion; and ſome of the Leading Churchmen " were heard to ſay, They would have an Act " ſo framed, as would reach every Puritan in " the Kingdom; and that if they thought any " of them would ſo ſtretch their Conſciences, " as to be comprehended by it, they would " inſert yet other Conditions and Subſcriptions; " ſo as that they ſhould have no Benefit by it. " But the King and Parliament, they fear'd, " were not fully prepar'd for the paſſing ſuch " an Act; thereupon a Contrivance was ſet on " Foot to make a *Presbyterian Plot*; and this " was the firſt they ever took in Hand: And " becauſe 'twas never taken Notice of by ſome, " and forgotten by others, I ſhall, *ſays my Au- thor*, therefore put it down at large, which I " can the better do, becauſe I was a great Suf- " ferer therein; and what I relate, if Occaſion " be, I can prove it by Letters, and many living " Witneſſes." This Sham Plot was laid in about thirty ſix Counties in *England*; that in *Worceſterſhire* he chiefly confines himſelf to. " In " the Month of *November*, ſays he, in the Year " 1661. ſeveral Letters were drawn up and de- " liver'd by Sir *John P*———, to one *Richard* " *N*———, his Neighbour, to carry to one " *Cole* of *Martly*, about four Miles from *Wor- " ceſter*, who is now living. This *Cole*, accord- " ing to Inſtructions, delivereth a Pacquet of " Letters to one *Churn* of *Whitchinford* (who " alſo is, or lately was alive, and dwelt near " *Martly*). This Pacquet of Letters was car- " ried by *Cole* and *Churn*, and deliver'd to Sir " *John Packington* (from whom it came) and " before him *Churn* makes an Affidavit, that

" going early in the Morning to his Labour, " he ſtruck his Bill upon an Hedge to cut a " Thorn, and by and by on the other Side the " Hedge he ſpied a *Scotch* Pedler putting up " Letters haſtily in his Pack; and being af- " frighted, as he ſuppoſed, he left that Pacquet " behind in the Ditch, and went down a Lane " leading to Collonel *John Birch*'s Houſe.

" THIS Oath being made, and the Pacquet " deliver'd and open'd, it preſently appear'd " that there was a Conſpiracy on Foot to ſtir " up Rebellion in the Kingdom, and to raiſe " an Army for that Purpoſe; and that Captain " *Andrew Tarranton* was to command an Army " in thoſe Parts; for which Purpoſe there were " ſeveral Letters directed to him from ſome " Miniſters and others, particularly one from " Mr. *Baxter*, Miniſter in *Kidderminſter*, inti- " mating that he had provided a conſiderable " Body of Men well arm'd, which ſhould be " ready againſt the Time appointed; and ano- " ther from Mr. *Sparry*, intimating he had or- " der'd him 500 *l.* lodg'd in a Friend's Hand. " Upon this the Militia of the County of *Wor-* " *ceſter* was rais'd immediately, and the City " fill'd with them, the very Night after the " Pacquet was open'd. The next Morning the " Captain was ſeiz'd by a Troop of Horſe, and " brought Priſoner to *Worceſter*; as alſo was " Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Oſland*, Mr. *Moor* and Mr. " *Brian*, Miniſters, together with ſome Scores " of others. They were all kept cloſe Priſoners " for ten Days; by which Time the Trained- " Bands being weary, moſt of them were diſ- " charged, paying their Fees; but the Captain, " Mr. *Sparry*, and the two *Oſlands*, were ſtill " kept cloſe Priſoners; the Dignitaries of the " Cathedral taking Care, when the Trained-

" Bands

"Bands retir'd, to raiſe ſixty Foot Soldiers "(who had double Pay, and were call'd the "Clergy-Band) to ſecure theſe Criminals." One Jeſt, among a great many Villanies, in the Contrivance of this Plot, was, that the terrible Man, Captain *Baxter*, was then at *London*, and had been ſo for ſome Time; I ſuppoſe, at the very Juncture when he promis'd to appear at the Head of his Troops. The like Plot was ſet on Foot in other Counties at the ſame Time; ſundry Letters being feign'd in the Name of Perſons, and directed to ſuch as they had a Mind to make Criminals, exhorting them to be ready with their Arms and Men: And for a Sample, I'll recite a Letter on the Occaſion of the *Oxfordſhire* Plot, another Branch of *Baxter*'s Plot. It was directed to Mr. *Martin* the Town-Clerk, and run thus:

MR. MARTIN,

I *Pray you warn all thoſe Men to be in Arms on* Wedneſday *next in the Night; you know already where they muſt meet: There will come to* Oxford *two hundred Men, all in their Arms; you know who doth command them: Dr.* Greenwood *hath ſent to Mr.* Combs *the Barber, to get his Party of Scholars ready that Night; and I have ſent to Mr.* Hickman *to get his Men ready at the ſame Time; and Dr.* Gawin *has ſent to Mr.* Corniſh, *to get his Men ready at the ſame Time. I have ſent to Dr.* Cannaught, *to get his Men ready; and all the Scholars are to meet at Dr.* Roger's *Garden; and I pray ſend the Blunderbuſſes thither, for I intend to be there my ſelf; and I pray give the Bearer five Pounds out of the Stock; and I pray remember me to the ſix Men unnam'd: Five Counties are to riſe that Night without fail. I need write no more to you:*

The Word is, God is the Word; *and I pray tell them all so.*

MR. *Martin* immediately carries this Letter to a Justice of Peace, which was the common Method taken, whereby the Snare was avoided; notwithstanding several were trapan'd, and Multitudes were taken up in all Parts of the Kingdom, and that for being concern'd in *Baxter's* Plot, as they call'd it.

Forged Plots an Introduction to the Uniformity Bill.

THE Thing design'd in all this, was to possess the King and Parliament that 'twas absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against such a restless Sort of Men, who were always plotting to disturb the Government: And they were not disappointed, for when the Parliament met upon the 20th of *November* (to which Time they were adjourn'd) the King in his Speech to them takes Notice, "That there were many "wicked Instruments still as active as ever, who "labour'd Night and Day to disturb the pub-"lick Peace, and recommends it to their Care "to provide proper Remedies." And no sooner was this Parliament in their Geers, but up starts Sir *J. P*——, one of the Knights for *Worcestershire*, and with open Mouth informs them of a dangerous *Presbyterian* Plot on Foot, and that now many of the chief Conspirators were Prisoners in *Worcestershire*: The like Information was given by some Members, who serv'd for *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, &c. Yea, this was the general Cry, as appears from the printed Pamphlets at that Time. Hereupon the Bill of *Uniformity* was presently upon the Anvil, form'd and finish'd that Sessions; and that these Plots were a Preamble to it, and design'd to introduce it, can't reasonably be question'd, considering the Temper of Men and Posture of Affairs at that Time.

I

I SHALL say nothing of this famous Act, only that it put an End to all Hopes of Peace and Concord; thrust two thousand Ministers out of the Church; and led on a Train of such Hardships and Sufferings, as are a Reproach to a Protestant Nation. And, indeed, it seems this Law entred, *that the Offence might abound*, they took Methods to force Men to be Transgressors, on purpose, one would think, *that they might punish them.* Henceforward nothing but Reviling, Reproaching, Fines, Imprisonments, Law upon Law, made against the *Presbyterians*; and even the severe Act of the Thirty fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*, that made *Non-Conformity* Banishment or Death, was revived and commanded to be put in Execution.

Parliament for making Peace between the two Parties.

INDEED, after this Spirit had raged, and those Severities had been exercis'd a considerable While, the Parliament and Nation began to see their Mistake; and partly from the Experience they had of the Unsuccessfulness of such Measures, and partly from the Apprehension of Destruction coming upon them all from the Common Enemy, they change their Counsels, and set themselves to promote Union among his Majesty's Subjects: To which Purpose many Offers were made, and Schemes projected; but all was render'd ineffectual by the *High-flying Party*, who still kept the Breaches open for the Enemy to come in at: Which was the Tendency of their Conduct, and the Event also, whatever their Meaning was.

AND when nothing of this Kind would pass, no Union could be brought about between the Churchmen and Dissenters; the Parliament resolve, if they can't make Peace, yet to stop Hostilities, by disarming the one Party, and saving the other from their Violence, that the

Enemy might not triumph in the Ruin of both: To which Purpoſe a Bill is brought in *for the exempting his Majeſty's Subjects from the Penalties of the Act of the Thirty fifth of Queen* Elizabeth. This Bill paſs'd both the Houſes; but when the King came to the Houſe of Lords to paſs ſundry Bills (for the Relief of Proteſtant Diſſenters) was taken from the Table, and could never be found: Which, as it could not be done without the King's Privity, ſo it convinc'd many, that the Indulgence the King had himſelf granted to Diſſenters was not out of real Tenderneſs to them, but to introduce his diſpenſing Power, *&c.* (for he did it without Act of Parliament) ſo that the Scuffle is continued. No Favour muſt be ſhown theſe Men, but they are left to be torn to Pieces by their Fellow Proteſtants, with what Deſign, and for what Purpoſe, 'tis eaſy to imagine.

I MAY reckon of the ſame Nature, and certainly of the ſame Tendency, the manifeſt Reſolution of the Court to cruſh the *Presbyterian* Church of *Scotland*; which was done effectually by *Lauderdale*, and others. In the Year 1664. ſome *Scotch Presbyterians* (Dr. *Kennet* calls them the moſt Worthy) came up to Court, and betray'd their Church; Mr. *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Farewel*, *Logton*: They firſt got the King's Declaration for reſtoring the Government of *Scotland* by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as 'twas exercis'd 1637. and, which, it may be, was the Cream of the Jeſt, got themſelves made Biſhops. And in the very next Parliament in *Scotland*, the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* (that his Majeſty had thrice taken) was abjur'd, and all ſuch Leagues declar'd *unlawful*, as was all manner of Reſiſtance of the King on any Pretence whatſoever.

AND

AND now a Part was acted in that Kingdom, ſo black and horrid, as is enough to make both the Ears of him that hears it tingle: The Laws of the *Covenanters* were written in Blood, and executed by Dragoons. Several State Queſtions were invented, that they knew would intangle poor Countrymen; and if they fail'd in anſwering theſe, they were preſently taken up and hang'd, without waiting the Formalities of legal Trial and Conviction: It may be, no Hiſtory can parallel the Barbarities and inhuman Butcheries acted towards the *Presbyterian Scots* (I mean where *Proteſtants* were the Actors). *Coke* * repreſents the Matter thus: "*Lauderdale*, ſays he, in the Second Parliament "held by him, got an Act, declaring, That "by Virtue of the King's Supremacy the Ordering of the Government of the Church "does properly belong to his Majeſty, *&c.* and "that he may enact and emit ſuch Orders and "Conſtitutions concerning Church Adminiſtrations, Perſons, Meetings, *&c.* as he ſhall think "fit, any Law, Act or Cuſtom to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Severities againſt the Presbyterians in *Scotland.*

"AND being arm'd with ſufficient Power, "he made all Sorts of People depoſe upon Oath "their Knowledge of the Perſons of *Diſſenters* "in the Exerciſe of their Worſhip, upon Penalty of Impriſonment, Tranſportation, and being ſold for Slaves, *&c.* making it Death for "any to preach in Fields or Houſes, where any "are without Doors; ordering, that every "Man for himſelf, and all under him, ſhould "give Bond not to go to Field-Meetings; and "to inform againſt, purſue, and deliver up all "outer Miniſters to Judgment." He adds,

* Detection, Vol. II. p. 198.

"That the Execution of these Orders was not "by legal Officers, but by an Army of *High-*"*land* Robbers, who quarter'd upon the Coun-"try; so that it may be a Question, whether "the *French* King did not take his Mea-"sures in his *Dragooning Reformation*, by the "Ground-Work laid by *Lauderdale* †."

ANO-

† It would fill a large Volume to relate but a Part of the Barbarities exercis'd towards this persecuted People. In the Western Shires, where they were most numerous, and firm to their Principles, they had an Host of *Highlanders* brought down upon them, ten or eleven thousand added to the Standing Troops. These Savages, more cruel than *Turks* or *Tartars*, were to press upon the People a *Bond of Conformity*, wherein the Subscriber was bound for himself, Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, to frequent his Parochial Church; never to go to the Field-Meetings, nor entertain any that went; but to inform against, pursue, and deliver up all vagrant Preachers: Whosoever refus'd to subscribe these Bonds, must have ten, twenty, thirty, or forty of these *Ecclesiastical Lictors* quarter'd upon him; who, besides their Maintenance, exact a Contribution from the Landlord of 6 *d.* a Day for a Common Soldier, and more for an Officer; nor did they take leave ordinarily, till they had destroy'd and laid waste all where they came. It would be endless to recount the Ravages of these Plunderers, and the Calamities of the Country and Families under their Discipline.

After the Rising at *Bothwell-Bridge*, Severities encreas'd; it was made criminal to harbour any of the Rebels, and Multitudes were fin'd, imprison'd, and put to Death, for having seen or spoken with some of them. The Methods of their Proceeding, both in convicting and executing such as were mark'd for Destruction, were as inhumane as most ever made use of by *Pagans* or *Papists*, and seem to make a pretty exact Parallel with the *Spanish Inquisition*; as the trapanning Men by Questions, demanding of them their Thoughts and Judgment about what pass'd, when they had nothing to accuse them of, thereby making them accuse themselves; as, What they thought of the Death of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, whether was it Murder? and of the Rising at *Bothwell-Bridge*, whether Rebellion and Sin against God? Sometimes they would keep them in Prison a Year together, without any Examination, or letting them know their Crime; in the mean time sending, under the Pretence of imprisoning, Spies upon them that would draw out something that would afford Matter of Accusation; or if that could not be done, they would put such Oaths to them as they knew they scrupled, and thereby do their Work effectually. They frequently, when Prisoners were tried before them, had neither Accuser nor Libel (exactly the Way

of

ANOTHER Step towards the general Ruine intended, was the ſetting up illegal, arbitrary Power under the Name of *Prerogative*: One may reaſonably ſuppoſe ſomething of this would be natural to King *Charles*, for it dwelt firſt in his Grandfather *James*, and his Father *Charles*, ſo that he had it by a Sort of hereditary Right; nor did it leave him as long as he liv'd, for *Quo ſemel eſt imbuta*, &c. Dr. *Wellwood* ſays of him, That if he had any fix'd Maxim of

King *Charles* for Arbitrary Power.

of the *Inquiſitors* in *Spain*) but require them to anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*, to all Queſtions they are pleas'd to propoſe. And if the Jury, in a Caſe moſt notorious, happen'd to be a little Shy, and to boggle at the Work prepared for them, the King's Advocate would by Commands and Threatnings awe them to a Compliance, and force them to bring in the Priſoner guilty: And, which is altogether borrow'd from the *Inquiſition*, when they could not get a direct Anſwer to their Queſtions, they would extort it by Torture, as by the Boot, *&c.*

And for their Executions, how inhumane were they! Sometimes they would cut off a Perſon's Ears upon one Sentence, and then put him to Death upon another Sentence: They ſpared neither Age nor Sex; ſome Women were hang'd, and others drown'd, with admirable Art and Contrivance, being tied to a Stake within the Sea-Mark, and there left to view the Enemy, Death, advancing towards them Step by Step on the Back of the increaſing Waves: Many of the Men had their Hands and Privy-Members cut off, their Hearts pluck'd out and thrown into the Fire whilſt alive. The Boots and Thumkins were the common Inſtruments of Torture, by which the very Marrow of their Legs and Thumbs was ſqueez'd out. Many of their Priſoners, whilſt under Methods of Examination, were kept waking (by Soldiers ſworn to the Purpoſe) for ſeven, eight, or nine Nights together, and when led to Execution, muſt not be ſuffer'd to ſpeak one Word for their own Vindication, or the Inſtruction of others, the Drums beating all the while: And if it be ask'd where this was done; among *Turks*, *Tartars* or *Jews*, the *Cannibals* or *Caribbees*, or rather the *Tononpinambo*'s; who, as Mr. *Lock* ſays, believed they merited Heaven by the Virtues of Revenge, and eating abundance of their Enemies: No, theſe were not the Actors in this Tragedy, but Chriſtians; and which is worſe, Proteſtants, and ſuch as would take it ill not to be diſtinguiſh'd as moſt primitive, pure, *&c.* But *tell it not in* Gath! Nor do I mention theſe Things with the leaſt Deſign of fixing a Reproach upon any Party that renounces ſuch Principles; only to ſhow the Spirit of that Time, and beget an Abhorrence in the Reader of ſuch Inhumanity.

Go-

Government, it was to play one Party againſt another, to be thereby more Maſter of both.

AND as this was his Inclination, ſo he met with enow that fell in with it; and that not only Court-Paraſites, the conſtant Way of thoſe Vermin, but the main Body of the Nation. This appear'd in an uncommon Degree immediately upon his Reſtoration, as Dr. *Wellwood* obſerves, who aſcribes it to a more than ordinary Care of Providence over *England*, that we did not throw up all our Liberties at once. "When the "King was brought back, *ſays he*, he poſſeſs'd "ſo entirely the Hearts of his Subjects, that "nothing was thought too much for them to "grant, or him to receive: Among other De"ſigns to pleaſe him, there was one form'd at "Court to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon him du"ring Life, by Parliament, as ſhould place "him beyond the Neceſſity of asking more, "excepting in the Caſe of a War, or ſome "ſuch extraordinary Occaſion. The Earl of "*Southampton* came heartily into it, out of a "meer Principle of Honour and Affection to "the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* ſecretly "oppos'd it." It ſeems *Clarendon* endeavour'd to take off the Treaſurer, telling him, He knew more of the King's Temper and Inclination than he could pretend to know; and that if ſuch a Revenue was ſettled for Life, not only neither of them ſhould be of further uſe, but that in all Probability they ſhould not ſee many more Seſſions of Parliament during that Reign. This Paſſage came afterwards to the King's Ear, and was the true Reaſon why he abandon'd *Clarendon* to his Enemies.

BUT notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, *adds the ſame Author*, King *Charles* made a Shift to get more Money from his firſt Parliament to-

towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all the Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race had obtain'd before towards the Charges of their Wars.

AND as they fill'd his Purſe, they very much rais'd his Power: They put a Sword into his Hand, and tied up the Hands of the Nation, and of every Man in it, from reſiſting even a Ruffian that comes to cut their Throat, if he can but ſhow the King's Commiſſion; which was done by the famous Declaration inſerted in the Act of *Uniformity*, and to be ſubſcrib'd by every Dignitary, Vicar, Parſon, Curate, or School-maſter, in theſe Words:

I A. B. *do declare, That 'tis not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or any that are commiſſion'd by him.*

The Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance eſtabliſh'd by the Law.

AT the ſame Time they enact the ſole Right of the Militia to be in the King: Add to this, that as the Makers of the Law had thus advanc'd the Prerogative, and declar'd the King irreſiſtible; ſo another Sort of Men fell in with them; the one declare this is Law, and the other Goſpel, and bind it upon the Conſcience on Penalty of Damnation.

SOME time after a Declaration, much in the ſame Terms, was requir'd by Act of Parliament to be taken by all that enjoy'd any Office either Civil or Military, Privy Counſellors, Juſtices of Peace, and Members of Parliament, with an Additional Clauſe, to this Effect:

I A. B. *do ſwear, I will not endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as 'tis by Law eſtabliſh'd.*

THIS

THIS was call'd the *Teſt of Abhorrence*, and was deſign'd to purge the Houſe of Commons, as well as ſerve other Purpoſes.

AND now what Wonder if the King ſat up for *Abſolute*, and reſolv'd to purſue his own Meaſures, when the Men of the Law make it Treaſon to reſiſt him upon any Pretence whatever, and the Men of the Goſpel pronounce it Damnation, thereby, to uſe the Words of Dr. *Welwood*, adopting a ſecond Time into our Religion a *Mahometan* Principle under the Name of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*; which, ſince the Time of the Impoſtor that firſt broach'd it, has been the Means to inſlave a great Part of the World.

WHAT Influence ſuch Doctrine had in that, and eſpecially in the following Reign, is not forgotten. King *Charles*, indeed, could not purſue the Principle in its full length; he found the Parliament at laſt ready to ſtand up againſt him, and diſpute the Power they had given him; but he ſhew'd his good Will, and ventur'd as far as he could: Hence his *diſpenſing with the Penal Laws*, by his Declaration of Indulgence in 1662. and again ten Years after; and his *ſhutting up the Exchequer*, which was done by a Right, according to which the King might ſeize any Man's Eſtate in the Kingdom at Pleaſure, and apply it to his own Uſe. The Matter was thus: The King reſolves upon a War with the *Dutch*, but wanting Money to ſupply his preſent Occaſions, and not thinking fit to adviſe with a Parliament, and ask their Aſſiſtance, or indeed to let them ſit at a Time when his Counſels would not bear Examination, he reſolves upon an Expedient, and that was to ſeize the *Exchequer*, where the Bankers had lodg'd between thirteen and fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds of other

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People's Money. The King promis'd indeed Payment, and that no Perſon ſhould be defrauded of any thing that was due to him; but he had too many Occaſions for Money, and too little Regard to his Word, to trouble himſelf much about the Matter; ſo that all this Money was loſt to the Proprietors, till one of King *William*'s Parliaments, about thirty Years after, out of Regard to the publick Credit, as well as the Relief of the particular Sufferers, makes Proviſion for the Debt. Mr. *Baxter*, it ſeems, had lodg'd a Thouſand Pounds there for charitable Uſes, which had the ſame Fate with the reſt.

CHAP. XI.

King Charles *a Penſioner of* France. Dunkirk *ſold. The Triple League given up. A Quarrel pick'd with the* Dutch. *Prince of* Orange *made Stadtholder, an Inſtrument to ſave his Country and the Liberties of* Europe. *Confederacy between* England *and* France *ſtrengthen'd by the Duke of* York's *Marriage. Popery countenanc'd by the Duke's Means. The Parliament alarm'd with Fears of Popery. The Teſt-Act, contriv'd to exclude Papiſts. The Bill of Excluſion. The Duke of* York *careſs'd in* Scotland, *and recommended to the Archbiſhop by the Epiſcopal Party, as the only Patron of their Cauſe. The* Oxford *Decree.* Quo Warranto's *brought againſt Charters.* Ruſſel's *Plot. The Sham* Ryehouſe *Plot. The* Newcaſtle *young Men impriſon'd for Praying.* Whigs *proſecuted, and ſeverely fin'd.*

ANOTHER Branch of the ſame Deſign and Step taken to our Ruin, was the ſtrict Friendſhip and Correſpondence carried on with *France*. King *Charles*, tho' he was for graſping at

at more Power than the Conſtitution allow'd, or than he knew how to uſe, either for his own Honour, or his Subjects Comfort; yet ſo far diſgrac'd himſelf, as to become a Sort of Vaſſal and Dependant of a neighbouring Prince. Any one that reads an Impartial Hiſtory of his Reign, will ſee him a conſtant Penſioner of *France*. The *French* King ſupplies him with Money and Miſtreſſes; and for this he ſubmits his Counſels to his Directions, and in Effect ſells and delivers the Nation into his Hand. A Foundation for this fatal Friendſhip, or rather Conſpiracy, was laid, 'tis probable, before King *Charles*'s Reſtoration; and was further ſtrengthen'd immediately upon his Acceſſion, when the Queen-Mother made a Viſit to the *Engliſh* Court, to congratulate her Son, as was pretended; "But it was generally ſuſpected, *ſays* "*a late Hiſtorian* *, her true Errand was to "draw her Son to a Match with *Portugal*, a "League with *France*, and Surrender of *Dun-*"*kirk*." And I need not ſay how he ſucceeded herein.

DUNKIRK, tho' look'd upon of that Importance to the Nation, that the Parliament was preparing an Act to annex it for ever to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms; yet was ſold to the *French* King for five hundred thouſand Pounds, a Price not exceeding in Value what the Ammunition, Artillery and Stones were worth, as was alledg'd afterwards by the Commons, in their Charge againſt *Clarendon*. The Bargain being made, it was ingloriouſly put into their Hands under the Government of Count *d'Eſtrades*; the *Engliſh* Governour, with two Companies, guarding the Gates at their

Dunkirk Sold.

* Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. III. p. 214.

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Entrance, and delivering up the Keys. This Action was very ill reſented by the Body of the People of *England*, who were apt to think the Sale of ſo important a Place (after the Parliament's giving and applying Money for the Maintenance of it) was the deplorable Sign of a weak and mercenary Court.

THE Friendſhip with *France* was ſo firm and inviolable, and look'd upon ſo neceſſary to ſupport the arbitrary Meaſures the Court was purſuing, and the Hopes of a *Popiſh Expectant*, that every thing muſt be ſacrific'd to it. We can't have a ſtronger Inſtance of this than the *Triple League*; which was given up, and all the Security it contain'd, in Complaiſance to *France*, and to ſerve a Faction at Home.

'TIS known, the growing Power and ambitious Deſign of *France* alarm'd all its Neighbours, and put ſeveral of them upon entring into Meaſures to ſecure themſelves againſt the Encroachments of that aſpiring Monarch. Hence the famous *Triple Alliance* between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, which was to true *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants as Life from the Dead, it being the great Bulwark at that Time to the Proteſtant Religion and Liberties of *Europe*, eſpecially of *Britain*, then languiſhing; but this, as I ſaid, was given up, and vilely betray'd by thoſe that were at the Helm of Affairs. "The "Miniſtry, *ſays a late Writer* *, thro' Corrupti- "on, were gain'd to the *French* Intereſt; an "hundred thouſand Piſtoles were remitted to "*Colbert* the *French* Ambaſſador, which he laid "out to the beſt Advantage. The Managers "call'd the *Cabal* †, becauſe the initial Letters

The Triple League diſſolv'd.

* Secret Hiſtory of *Europe*, p. 112.

† *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*.

"of

" of their Names compoſe that Word, had the " greateſt Share of it, who being well paid for " their Service, ſet themſelves, by all the Arts " imaginable, to break the Triple League, and " make the King fall out with the *Dutch*." To which Purpoſe they labour to perſuade him, that they were ſoliciting an Alliance with the *French* againſt *England*; and in ſhort that his Majeſty ought to have nothing to do with a Republick that had vow'd his Deſtruction. The Meaning of all this was obvious enough, *viz.* to draw the King to yet cloſer Engagements with *France*, and ſeparate him from his Proteſtant Allies.

IT was to further this Deſign, that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, King *Charles*'s Siſter, is ſent over, and had an Interview with him at *Dover*. " In Pretence it was for a Viſit of Love and " Reſpect to her Brother, but in Deſign for a " Meſſage from the *French* Court to break the " Triple League, and to draw the King of " *England* to aſſiſt *France* againſt the *Dutch*. *" And when ſhe had finiſh'd her Negociation, ſhe left behind her, to perform what remain'd, a beautiful Lady, Madam *Carewell*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, the King's Favourite Miſtreſs, and the Nation's greateſt Enemy.

SOON after *Coventry* was diſpatch'd to *Sweden*, expreſly, as he affirm'd at his Departure, ſays Mr. *Marvel*, to diſſolve the Triple League; which he did effectually, and brought the *Swedes* over to the *French* Intereſt: He adds, " 'Tis a " Matter of ſad Reflection, that he who ſo well " underſtood both the Theory and Practick of " Honour, could in ſo eminent an Inſtance for- " get it, and be a Tool for breaking the Three-

* Compl. Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 278. † Growth of Popery, p. 28.

"fold Cord, by which the Intereſt of *England* "and all *Chriſtendom* were faſtned." At his Return he was rewarded with the Place of Secretary of State, beſides what his Maſter of *France* gave him for ſo meritorious a Service.

AND now, agreeable to this fine Management, and in Purſuit of the grand Plot, the *Dutch* are cried out of, and mark'd out for Deſtruction, as our worſt Enemies; only they want a Pretence againſt them, which they ſoon find. Mr. *Marvel* thus repreſents it: "They try an "Experiment, and make a Caſe that had never "before happen'd, or been imagin'd. A ſorry "Yacht, but bearing the *Engliſh* Jack, in *Aug.* "1671. fails into the midſt of their Fleet, ſing- "ling out the Admiral, ſhooting twice ſharp "upon him: The Commander in Chief, in "Deference to his Majeſty's Colours, and in "Conſideration of the Amity between the Two "Nations, paid our Admiral of the Yacht a Vi- "ſit to know the Reaſon; and learning it was "becauſe he and his whole Fleet had fail'd to "ſtrike Sail to his ſmall Craft, the *Dutch* Com- "mander civilly excus'd it, as a Matter of the "firſt Inſtance, in which he could have no In- "ſtructions. The Yacht having thus acquitted "herſelf, return'd home fraught with the Quar- "rel ſhe was ſent for." And this kindled the "*Dutch* War, ſo much to the Reproach and Infamy of the *Engliſh* Counſels, as well as Prejudice of their Affairs.

A Quarrel pick'd with the *Dutch*.

'TIS obſervable the *French* King had twiſted both Intereſts together, Civil and Religious, in the Enterprize againſt the *Dutch*; and therefore, by his Ambaſſador at *Vienna*, declares he had undertaken the War againſt *Holland* * for

* *Coke*, p. 176.

pro-

propagating the Catholick Cauſe; and that all good Chriſtians were bound to joyn with him to extirpate Hereſy: And it was in this War, moſt perfidiouſly begun, that the good Chriſtians of the *Engliſh* Court joyn'd; tho' at the ſame time the *French* King took care that the *Hereticks* ſhould have the chief Honour of the deſign'd Extirpation themſelves, his Buſineſs was to ſtand and look on. "He only ſtudied, "*ſays Mr.* Marvel, to ſound our Seas, to ſpy "our Ports, to learn our Buildings, to contem- "plate our Way of Fighting, to conſume ours, "and preſerve his own Navy; and to order all "ſo, that the two great Naval Powers of *Eu- "rope* being cruſh'd together, he might remain "ſole Arbitrator of the Ocean; and, by Conſe- "quence, Maſter of all the Iſles and Continents." And he wanted but a little of accompliſhing this, having over-run *Holland* with an Army of near an hundred and fifty thouſand, and reduced the States to the very Brink of Ruine; ſo that, in great Conſternation, a Multitude of their richeſt Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other Places, for Security.

Prince of *Orange* made Stadtholder, and becomes the Inſtrument of ſaving the Liberties of *Europe*.

AND now it was that the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards the Glorious King *William*, entred upon the Office he was born for, the Relief of the Diſtreſs'd, and the Reſcue of ſinking States and Nations: The People, thro' the Prevalency of the *Loveſtein* Faction, ſworn Enemies to the Houſe of *Orange*, had aboliſh'd the Office of *Stadtholder*; but now they ſee a Neceſſity of reſtoring it, which they do in the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, reinſtating him in all the Dignities of his Family; which I can't but look upon as an happy Criſis in favour of the Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of this Part of

the World, that were ſacrific'd to the Ambition of *France*.

IMMEDIATELY upon the young Prince's Advancement, the drooping Spirit of the *Dutch* began to revive *. The *French* now turn'd all their Applications towards the Prince, and made his Highneſs all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantage to his Family, *provided he would be contented to depend on them.* The Bait propos'd was, That the Prince ſhould be Sovereign of the Provinces, *under the Protection of* England *and* France; and it ſeems the Duke of *Buckingham*, one of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to the *French* King, preſs'd the Prince to accept of ſuch a Sovereignty, as *France* had propos'd (*i. e.*) under the Two Crowns; repreſenting, as an Argument to perſuade him to it, the deſperate State of his Country. The Prince conſtantly reply'd, *That he would never ſell the Liberties of his Country, his Anceſtors had ſo long defended*: And as to what his Grace had ſaid of the dangerous Condition his Country was in, he reply'd, *It was indeed true, yet he had one Way ſtill left, not to ſee its Ruine compleated, and that was to lie in the laſt Ditch.*

AND never was a young Soldier and Stateſman kept more buſy to prevent this, the utter Deſtruction with which they were threatned. The *French* carry on their Conqueſts by Land, the *Engliſh* joyn with them by Sea, as if they were reſolv'd to purſue the Maxim often repeated by a Great Man of the *Engliſh* Court, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, having, at the Inſtigation of the *French* Ambaſſador Monſieur *Colbert* (to ſave his Maſter's Pocket) ſeized the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet; ſo that we firſt plunder'd

* Sir *William Temple's* Memoirs.

them,

them, and then fought them with their own Weapons.

THE Prince makes a noble Stand againſt the Enemy, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantages he was under; gives him ſeveral Repulſes; forces him to abandon ſome of his Conqueſts; and being by the concurring Suffrage of his Country made *Hereditary Stadtholder*, is an Inſtrument to take off the *Engliſh* from their moſt impolitick and fatal Confederacy with *France*; the Parliament in the mean time ſeconding his Endeavours, voting for Peace, offering to give Money for that, but refuſing any for the Service of ſuch a War: So that a Peace was concluded with *England*, 1674. upon which the Prince was more at leiſure to attend his encroaching Neighbours, and defend his Borders againſt his Invaſions.

IN the ſame Year the memorable Battle of *Seneff* was fought between the Confederates and the *French*, the one Army commanded by the young Prince of *Orange*, and the other by the Experienc'd General the Prince of *Conde*: The Fight laſted all Day, and ſo equal was it, that both Sides claim'd the Victory; tho' the Prince of *Orange* had one Argument for it, that is generally thought ſufficient, he kept the Field whilſt the Enemy retir'd. Such was the Conduct and Bravery of the young Prince, that the Enemy's General, the Great *Conde*, could not forbear giving him a moſt honourable Character: "I have fought, *ſays he*, Twenty Princes "of *Orange* that Day; for he was every where: "He ſhew'd the Experience of an old General, "and the Bravery of a Soldier: The only Fault "I think he was guilty of, was expoſing his "Perſon too much. In ſhort, I have reaſon "to believe, that this young Prince will equal, "if

Battle of *Seneff*.

" if not exceed, the *Williams*, the *Maurices*, and " *Henries*, his glorious and renown'd Anceſtors." Nor did he ever forfeit this Character, but continued to raiſe it higher and higher, by a Series of Actions that made him the Terror of *France*, and the Darling of his Country.

AND when I have added, that this young Heroe was afterwards married to a Daughter of *England*, the Princeſs *Mary*; by means of which Match he came to ſucceed to our Crown, and was the happy Inſtrument of ſo many great Things done, and yet doing: I can't forbear calling him the *Good Genius* of *Europe*, and ſuppoſe him rais'd up on purpoſe to be a Bleſſing to this Part of the World.

BUT to return. After the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, the *French* were continually harraſſing us, filling our Seas with Pirates, and making Prize, plundering and murdering all they met with; and while they were doing this, were ſupply'd with Recruits from hence; If any would go voluntarily into the *French* Service, they were encourag'd; and others that would not, were impreſs'd, and carried over by meer Force: And, which would amaze any that has never read the Principles that influenc'd and govern'd at that Time, " His Majeſty's Maga- " zines were emptied to furniſh the *French* with " all Sorts of Ammunition; of which the fol- " lowing Note contains but a ſmall Parcel in " Compariſon of what was daily convey'd away " under Colour of Cockets for *Jerſy* and other " Places. From *June* 1675 to *June* 1677, were " exported from *London* to *France*; Granadoes " without Number, under pretence of unwrought " Iron; Lead Shot 21 Tuns; Gunpowder 7134 " Barrels; Iron Shot 18 Tun, 600 Weight; " Iron Ordnance 441, Quantity 292 Tuns,

The *French* encourag'd to plunder the Nation.

" 900

"900 Weight; and Carriages, Bandaliers, Pikes, "*&c.* uncertain *."

NOW this was the Repriſal we took of the *French* for plundering us, burning our Ships, and robbing our Merchants; and indeed all our Conduct was agreeable hereto: So that no Body can view it from firſt to laſt, but muſt be ready to think King *Charles* was preparing to do what he would have had the Prince of *Orange* to have done with reſpect to *Holland*, viz. *to hold the Sovereignty of* England *under the Protection of* France. The better to cultivate this good Underſtanding between the Two Crowns, and eſpecially to ſerve his own Intereſt, the Duke of *York* (now a Widower by the Death of his Dutcheſs, the Lord *Clarendon*'s Daughter, who declar'd ſhe died a Papiſt) leaves the *French* King to appoint a Wife for him, who choſe the Princeſs of *Modena*, a Dependant on *France* (from whence ſhe was to have her Portion) and a Favourite of the Court of *Rome*, being related to the Pope. This Match was ſoon concluded by Means of *Coleman* the Duke's Secretary, and Father *Ferrier* the *French* King's Confeſſor; upon which the Duke and the *French* King mutually declare their Intereſt to be one and the ſame, and the *French* King offers him his Purſe to aſſiſt him againſt all his Enemies.

Alliance with *France* ſtrengthned by the Duke of *York*'s Marriage.

THE laſt Work they had to do, and which indeed was the principal, and firſt in Intention, and which all the reſt ſubſerv'd, was the gradual Undermining the *Proteſtant Religion*, and making Way for the Return of that Heap of Folly call'd the *Catholick Faith*. An Eye was had to this all along, and a great deal of Intrigue us'd for that purpoſe: At firſt the Duke

* *Marvel's Growth of Popery*, p. 69.

conceals himſelf, and it was made Criminal to ſay he was a *Papiſt*; but afterwards he caſts off the Mask and appears more bare-fac'd, and begins to take wide Steps for introducing what is deſign'd.

Popery countenanc'd by the Duke of *York*.

THE *Papiſts* every where have Marks of Favour ſhewn them; general Licence was granted by Proclamation in *Ireland* to all the *Papiſts* there to live in Corporations, and exerciſe Trades, and enjoy the ſame Privileges other Subjects ought to do, which was more than the Proteſtants could claim that were not Free of the Corporation; the Kingdom is fill'd with Prieſts and Jeſuits, *&c.* Maſs is ſaid openly in the Queen's Chappel at *Somerſet-Houſe*; and Papiſts are put into the higheſt Offices of the Kingdom: And ſuch was the Duke's Power, that he was in effect King already, King *Charles* leaving him at the Head of his Affairs, whilſt he abandon'd himſelf to his Pleaſures; ſo that every Body that would ſee, might ſee *Popery* as well as *Slavery*, not ſo properly ſtealing as marching in among us in a Sort of Triumph.

The Parliament alarm'd with Fears of Popery.

THE Parliament had often complain'd of the Growth of *Popery*, and addreſs'd his Majeſty to provide againſt it, which was generally comply'd with to the Expence of a Proclamation, tho' the Papiſts were ſeldom either much hurt or much affrighted with it; but at laſt, being more rous'd out of their Security, and ſeeing the Miſchief that was coming upon them, they arm againſt it as well as they can, and reſolve to take all neceſſary Meaſures for their Safety; and therefore, after ſeveral fruitleſs and ineffectual Attempts to unite the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, they contrive to exclude the Papiſts from any Share in the Government, which was done by the *Teſt Act*; by which it was requir'd,

"That

"That all Persons bearing any Office, or Place "of Trust or Profit, shall take the Oaths of "*Supremacy* and *Allegiance* in publick and open "Court; and shall also receive the Sacrament "of the Lord's-Supper, according to the Usage "of the Church of *England*, upon some Lord's-"Day, immediately after Divine Service and "Sermon; and deliver a Certificate of having "so receiv'd the Sacrament under the Hands "of the respective Ministers and Church-War-"dens, prov'd by two credible Witnesses upon "Oath, and put upon Record in Court." And that after taking the said Oaths of *Supremacy*, should also make and subscribe this Declaration:

I A. B. *do declare, That I believe there is not any* Transubstantiation *in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof, by any Person whatsoever.*

DR. *Kennet* remarks, which *Act* and *Test* therein prescribed, was a great Security to the Protestant Religion; he might have added (which would have given a little of the Ornament of Impartiality to his History, which some will miss in it) That 'tis pity an Act design'd purely against the *Papists*, as appears from the Preamble and Title *, should be turn'd against *Protestant Dissenters*. 'Tis said, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who had a main Hand in this Bill, dealt with Alderman *Love*, a noted *Dissenter* then in the House of Commons, not to oppose it, being so needful at that Time to

* Which is thus: *An Act for preventing Dangers that may happen from Popish Recusants.*

disarm

diſarm *Papiſts* of the Power they had; aſſuring him, that another Bill ſhould be procur'd to explain it, ſo as that it ſhould not touch the *Diſſenters*; but this was afterwards forgot: Upon the paſſing the Bill, the Duke of *York*, General of the Army, and the Lord-Treaſurer *Clifford*, as the Firſt Fruits of the Bill, laid down all their Places.

BUT this was not thought ſufficient to ſtem the Tide that roſe ſo high, and run ſo violently, that it threatned to bear down all Legal Securities. The Duke, though removed from being General, continued to be more than ſo, and was like ſhortly to be All; ſo that the more conſiderate Part of the Nation, that had the trueſt Concern for the Intereſt of it, both Civil and Religious, agreed it was abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome further Meaſures to ſhelter them from the Storm they ſaw approaching; and nothing was look'd upon effectual, but to exclude the Duke of *York* from ſucceeding to the Crown: Which accordingly was reſolved upon in the Houſe of Commons.

Bill of Exclusion.

A LONG Series of Actions (in all which was the Hand of *Joab*) convinc'd them they could not be ſafe till this was done. The Army at *Blackheath* ſtruck Terrour into many; and, no Queſtion, gave Life to the Reſolutions taken in Parliament. This Army lay there to be ready againſt the *Dutch*: "But it was the ge-
"neral Apprehenſion, that having no Hope to
"get the Parliament to ſet up their Religion
"by Law, it was their Intention to put down
"Parliaments, and reduce the Government to
"the *French* Model, and Religion to their
"State, by a Standing Army." And this Suſpicion appear'd not unreaſonable afterwards,

when

when 'twas found that fifty ſeven Commiſſions were granted in one Month to *Popiſh Recuſants*, with Warrants to muſter, without any Regard to Law, neither taking the Oath of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*, nor the *Teſt*. Theſe Warrants being counter-ſign'd by Sir *J. W.* Secretary of State. The Commons committed him to the *Tower*, but the King next Day diſcharg'd him with a Reprimand to the Commons †.

BUT what moſt ſtartled the Parliament and the whole Nation, and ſupported the Zeal with which they appear'd againſt the Duke, was the *Popiſh Plot*; which being a Matter of great Influence upon the State of the Publick Affairs, both then and afterwards, I ſhall give ſome Account of it.

Popiſh Plot.

THE King, though it may be true enough to their Intereſt at Bottom, yet not having Courage to effect it at all Adventures, nor driving ſo faſt as they would have him, was now an Offence and Embarraſsment to them; ſo that they contrive to make Way for their better Friend, eſpecially when they ſaw a Parcel of *Whigs* in the Parliament were ſo briſk againſt him, as to go about to defeat their future Hopes; and beſides, the King was as like to live as the Duke, and by his Conſtitution might expect to ſurvive him; the Conſequence of which would be the Death of their Cauſe and Hopes. Whereupon they reſolve to haſten his Majeſty's Paſſage into the other World, ſince he ſtood ſo much in their Way whilſt in this; not that he wanted (as is ſuppos'd) Affection to the *Papiſts*, but he wanted a flaming Catholick Zeal; being neither willing to forego

† *Coke*, p. 273.

or

or abridge himſelf of his Eaſe and Pleaſure on the Account of any Religion, nor willing to run the Riſque of his Crown, by purſuing all the Meaſures they would preſcribe.

THAT there was a *Popiſh Plot*, was made too evident to be deny'd by any but thoſe who have a Face to deny any thing, and whoſe Intereſt 'twas particularly to deny that: The intercepted Letters of *Coleman*, that paſs'd between him and Father *Le Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, put it out of doubt. *Oates*, who had been educated in the Church of *England*, and receiv'd Orders in it, but ſeemingly reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, was the firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot. His Information before the King and Council was to this purpoſe: "That there had been a Plot carried "on by *Jeſuits* and other Catholicks againſt "his Majeſty's Life, the Proteſtant Religion, "and the Government of this Kingdom;" referring for Proof to *Coleman*'s Letters, where the Evidence was glaring, and too ſtrong to be withſtood; tho' he had Time enough to convey away his Book of Entries for the two laſt Years, which it appears he did from his Servant *Boatman*'s Depoſitions; yet, ſays *Coke*, the Letters that were found amaz'd the greater Part of the Council. The Parliament was to meet a few Days after, which we may well think was far from being grateful to ſome embark'd in the Affair, and therefore the King is prevail'd with to prorogue them to a further Day, and afterwards to another Day; but when they got together, they preſently fell upon the Plot, and came to this Reſolution, *Nemine Contradicente*, "That upon the "Evidence that has already appear'd to this "Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, that there "hath

" hath been and ſtill is a *damnable, helliſh Plot* *,
" contriv'd and carry'd on by *Popiſh Recuſants*,
" for aſſaſſinating and murdering the King,
" ſubverting the Government, and rooting out
" and deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion." And

* The *Popiſh Plot* was one continued thing, and run almoſt thro' this Reign; when they could not act, they were ſtill contriving: But now was a Time of Execution, when they were to ſtrike home. Another reſolute Attempt to the ſame purpoſe was made in 66, when the City was fir'd. The *Papiſts* indeed deny their Concern in the Fact; but their Word, I ſuppoſe, cannot be thought of any Weight in the Matter: The Fire began *September* 2, 1666, at one *Farriner*'s Houſe, a Baker in *Pudding-Lane*, between the Hours of One and Two in the Morning, and continued burning till the 6th of *September*, conſuming, according to the Surveyors Account, three hundred ſeventy three Acres within the Walls, and above ſixty three Acres without; eighty nine Pariſh-Churches, beſides Chapels, and above thirteen thouſand Houſes. When the Parliament met, they appointed a Committee to enquire into the Cauſes of the late Fire: An Account of the Informations made before the Committee, and their Report thereupon, is to be found in a Pamphlet call'd, *London Flames Revived*, printed *Anno* 1689. By which it appears, that the horrid Villany was concerted by the *Papiſts*, ſeveral of them having ſpoke and wrote of the Deſolation that would be at *London* in *September*, ſome Months before, and many of them being caught throwing Fireballs into Houſes. Whilſt the Fire raged, the Duke of *York* was mighty buſy in endeavouring to ſtop it, of which an Account was ſent through the Nation in a publick Print; and he was not leſs buſy afterwards in preventing the Enquiry who kindled the flames, than he then ſeem'd to be in extinguiſhing them; none were proſecuted for the Crime, notwithſtanding ſeveral were taken in the Fact, except one *Hubert*, who was convicted upon his own Confeſſion, that he, with others his Accomplices, ſet the City on Fire; and being, after Conviction, carried through the Ruines, he pointed to the very Spot where the firſt Houſe that was fired ſtood.

The Commons reſolve to examine *Hubert* who ſet him on ſuch Work, and who join'd with him in it; but, ſays Mr. *Hawles*, (*Remarks on Fitz Harris's Trial*) the next Day he was hang'd, and ſo he could tell no further Tales. One Particular was call'd to Mind at that Time, that in the Beginning of the Year, *Rathbone*, *Sanders*, and ſix others, were executed for conſpiring the Death of the King, and Subverſion of the Government; in order to which, the City of *London* was to be ſet on Fire, *September* 3. which, by ſome *Aſtrological Scheme*, was pitched upon as a lucky Day for ſuch an Enterprize; but he that was at the Head of this Plot found Means to ſtur all the Evidence of it, and preſerve his Intereſt and Power againſt a more favourable Opportunity of doing his Work.

on

on the ſame Day the Lords paſt the ſame Vote, as they did with reference to *Ireland* ſometime after, *viz.* "That they are fully ſatisfied that "there now is, and for ſeveral Years paſt has "been, an *horrid* and *treaſonable Plot*, contrived "and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Reli-"gion in *Ireland*, for maſſacring the *Engliſh*, "ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the "antient, eſtabliſh'd Government of the King-"dom." This Reſolution was ſent down by the Lords to the Commons Houſe for their Concurrence, who agree with the Lords; adding further, That the Duke of *York*'s being a *Papiſt*, and his Expectation of coming to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the *horrid Popiſh Plot* in the Kingdom of *England*.

Endeavours to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot.

THE Duke and his Party in the mean time do all they can to ſtifle the *Plot*. That excellent Magiſtrate Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* loſt his Life for that Part he had in the Diſcovery of it: He had taken *Oates*'s Depoſitions relating to it, for which they reſolve to be revenged on him; and it ſeems he himſelf was apprehenſive of Danger, and ſaid to one that he believed he ſhould be the firſt Martyr, which fell out accordingly: For the Manner and Proof of his Murder, I refer to the Narratives printed concerning it. After he had been miſſing four Days, his Body was found in a Ditch, and in ſuch a Poſture, as to make the World believe he murder'd himſelf; his Gloves and Cane being on the Bank near him, and his own Sword run through his Body. The Diſcovery of the Murder was made by Mr. *Bedloe*, and confirm'd by the Confeſſion of *Miles Prance*; tho' Truſty Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, often employ'd in ſuch Work, endeavours to ſlur the Evidence of his Murder,

Murder, and murder him over again in his Name and Reputation.

THE Commons however receive further Admonition and Excitation from ſo vile a Fact, and purſue their Reſolution with the more Vigour, to preſerve the Government, if they can, out of the Hands of the Duke; accordingly paſs a Vote *November* 2, 1680. that the Proſpect of the Duke's ſucceeding gave the greateſt Encouragement to the Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come to any untimely Death, they will revenge it on the *Papiſts*; and at the ſame time bring in a Bill to diſable *James* Duke of *York* to inherit the Imperial Crowns of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging. After ſeveral Speeches againſt it by the Hereditary Divine Right Men, it paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and *November* 15, 1680. was carried up to the Houſe of Lords by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by moſt of the Houſe of Commons, where 'twas thrown out by a Majority of Thirty Voices.

'TIS ſuppos'd the King was not ſo averſe to this Bill at firſt, as afterwards; but came into it, or at leaſt ſeem'd to do ſo. The Favourite Miſtreſs, ſays *Welwood*, was prevail'd with, from ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſuading him to abandon his Brother; and it ſeems as the Parliament addreſs'd the King with great Earneſtneſs to paſs the Bill, ſo they offer'd him a conſiderable Sum of Money if he would conſent to it: But the King being better bidden by another Court, whoſe Gold had been long current here, complies with the Motion, and refuſes the Bill; tho' after all, it never reach'd him,

him, the Lords having cut it off before 'twas offer'd to his Majeſty.

DR. *Kennet*, the Compleat Hiſtorian, takes notice, that of the Thirty Voices againſt the Bill, ſome Men were pleas'd to obſerve Fourteen were Biſhops *. And why might not the Doctor have obſerv'd the ſame too, if he had pleas'd? He knows that this is true, and a great deal more; and that the Biſhops and Clergy were the greateſt Sticklers in this Matter. He himſelf owns †, many of the Clergy fell under Suſpicion of being popiſhly affected, becauſe they warmly eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Court in abhorring Petitions, in oppoſing the Aſſociation and Excluſion Bill; and it is known they ran ſo high in theſe Points, as not only to charge Rebellion upon all that were for uſing the neceſſary, and, as appear'd, the only Means of ſaving the Nation, but to lay 'em under the heavy Guilt of Damnation. In *Scotland* there was the ſame Zeal in the Party for the Duke, and a great deal of mutual Careſſing; inſomuch that when the Duke was

Duke careſs'd in *Scotland*, and recommended from thence.

* *Compleat Hiſtory, Vol.* 3. *p.* 392.

† In another place he ſays the Diſſenters were odious, not as Separatiſts from the Church, but as Enemies to the State, and eſpecially to the Duke's Succeſſion; and that the Churchmen were the more acceptable to the King, as Promoters of the Royal Prerogative, and Supporters of his Royal Highneſs (*Compleat Hiſtory, Vol.* 3. *p.* 402.) and in what Strain the Clergy's Addreſſes at that time generally ran, few need be inform'd. The ſame Hiſtorian gives a Sample in a Speech made to the King at *Newmarket*, by the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, Dr. *Gower*, in the Name of the Univerſity; in which, ſays he, the moſt acceptable Words were theſe: "We "will ſtill believe and maintain, that our Kings derive "not their Title from the "People, but from God, that "to him only they are accountable; that it belongs "not to Subjects either to "create or cenſure, but to "honour and obey their Sovereign; who comes to be "ſo by a fundamental Hereditary Right of Succeſſion, "which no Religion, no Law, "no Fault, or Forfeiture, can "alter and diminiſh."

there,

there, and was about to return into *England*, he thought proper to have *Letters* * *Testimonials* from the *Scotch* Bishops, directed to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which were immediately sent after him, and towards the End of *April* were publish'd by Authority: The Design of which was undoubtedly to strengthen the Duke's Interest, and enliven the Zeal of his Party against the House of Com-

The Duke caress'd in *Scotland*, and recommended from thence.

* *A Copy of the Testimonials from Scotland in favour of the Duke.*
Edinburgh, March 9. 1682.

May it please your Grace,

HIS Royal Highness having parted from hence on *Monday* last, being call'd by the King to attend his Majesty at *New-Market*, we should prove very defective in Duty and Gratitude, if, upon this Occasion, we should forget to acknowledge to your Grace, how much this poor Church and our Order do owe to his princely Care and Goodness, that his Majesty and the worthy Bishops of *England* may from you receive the just Account thereof.

Since his Royal Highness's coming to this Kingdom, we find our Case much changed to the better, and our Church and Order, which, thro' the Cunning and Power of their Adversaries, were expos'd to extream Hazard and Contempt, sensibly relieved and rescued; which, next to the watchful Providence of God, that mercifully superintends his Church, we can ascribe to nothing so much, as to his Royal Highness's gracious owning and vigilant Protection of us.

Upon all Occasions he gives fresh Instances of his eminent Zeal against the most unreasonable Schism; which, by renting, threatens the Subversion of our Church and Religion, and concerns himself as a Patron to us in all our publick, and even personal Interests; so that all Men take notice of his signal Kindness to us, and observe that he looks upon the Enemies of the Church, as Adversaries to the Monarchy itself; nor did we ever propose or offer to his Royal Highness any rational Expedient, which might conduce to the Relief or Security of the Church, which he did not readily embrace and effectuate.

The Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom is the Effect of his prudent and steady Conduct of Affairs, and the Humours of our wicked Fanaticks are much restrain'd from dangerous Eruptions, upon their Apprehensions of his Vigilance and Justice; for they dread nothing so much as to see him upon the Head of his Majesty's Councils and Forces against them. We hope your Grace will make our dutiful Acknowledgments to his Royal Highness, for all his princely Favours to us; and give him the most firm Assurance of our sincere Endeavours to serve him, and of our most fervent Prayers for his Temporal and Eternal Happiness, as the bounden Duty of, &c.

mons, and others that oppos'd his Succeſſion. And it was upon the ſame Occaſion, (*viz.* to ſerve the excellent Purpoſe of filling the Throne with a popiſh Prince) that the *Oxford* Decree was made; in which not only *Paſſive Obedience*, but indefeaſible *Hereditary Right*, has all the Sanction that famous Univerſity could give it; and all ſuch as would fain believe, if they might, that they were not born Slaves, are laid under their Anathema. I ſhan't preſume to make any Reflections upon this Decree; but having ſo good Authority as Dr. *Kennet's*, may obſerve, "That at the Revolution it ſhould have been "openly adher'd to, or as openly retracted and "condemned; whereas they contradict it in "their apparent Practice, without any Reverſal "of it, only the printed Copies are taken away "from the Halls, and other publick Places, "where they had before hung in Triumph." I'm ſorry, if it be true, as is ſaid, that it's now return'd to its Place of Triumph, there to diſpute Authority with an Act of Parliament. But the Jeſt on't is (and it can't be impertinent here to remark it) that after this Set of Men had preach'd and voted the Duke into the Throne, they deſert him, and help to pull him down again. His Title they make divine, and his Power irreſiſtable and abſolute in ſpite of the Conſtitution; and yet afterwards, fall upon him with Sword and Piſtol. If any ask the Meaning of this ſtrange Conduct, I know no better Anſwer, that is true, can be given than this, That they were for having him King, whilſt they thought him for their Purpoſe, and for complimenting him with exceſſive Power, whilſt they expected it ſhould be us'd for them, and againſt others; but when they ſaw themſelves herein diſappointed, and he begins to ſtretch

Oxford Decree.

ſtretch forth his Hand and touch them, then farewell the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*; *They'll rather venture Damnation in the next World, than be undone in this!*

IN the mean time the Conteſt continued about the Succeſſion, and in that was involved the Fate of *Britain*. The Parliament ſtruck at the Duke time after time; but the King was ſtanch to his Intereſt; the Lords eſpous'd him, eſpecially the Biſhops, and the Clergy thunder dreadful Anathema's againſt his fanatick Oppoſers; ſo that the Duke had reaſon to hope well, and to expect to carry all at length, as he did; only there was one popular Prejudice, which muſt be remov'd, *viz.* the *Popiſh Plot*. To which purpoſe he ſets himſelf to ſlur the Evidence of it; and, to make ſure Work, to turn it upon the *Diſſenters* and *Whigs*. And in this Service alſo, a Party of the more violent Clergy were concern'd, as is well known; Sir *John Hawles* taking notice of this (that the Clergy of the Church of *England* had been prevail'd with to cry up the *Popiſh* as a *Fanatick Plot*) and apologizing for them, imputes it to a Sort of Sympathy between them and ſome other Folks. "The *Papiſts*, ſays he, and the "Church of *England*, being in the late Times "equally Sufferers by the *Fanaticks*, they natu-"rally grew to have a Kindneſs for each other, "and both join'd in hating the *Fanaticks*; and "therefore pretended at leaſt that they did not "know any thing of the *Plot*, but that the "Report was given out by the *Fanaticks*, whilſt "they themſelves were deſigning ſomething a-"gainſt the Church."

The Popiſh Plot run down.

BUT becauſe ſome might give their Attendance at Coffee-houſes, that are not at leiſure always to come to Church, Sir *Roger* is ſet at

work to ridicule the Plot in his Papers; for which, and other Services, he was thought fit to deserve a Pension, and was kept in constant Pay: So that this Gentleman made it plain enough, there was no *Popish Plot*; but a dangerous *Presbyterian Plot* there was, which *Coke* tells us was prov'd by leaving Papers of a Plot in the Lodgings of the principal Persons concern'd in discovering the *Popish Plot*; and then searching their Houses (*for they that hide can find*) they proceeded against them upon the Evidence of those Papers. One of the first Attempts was made upon Colonel *Mansel*, who being examin'd before the Attorney-General Sir *William Jones*, was acquitted by him, he giving in a most perverse, disloyal Report, *viz. That Colonel* Mansel *was innocent; and that this was a Design of the Papists to lay the Plot upon the Dissenters, and a further Proof of a Popish Plot*: But to be sure such Affronts must not go unpunish'd; for this Sir *William* is turn'd out of his Place.

To speak or write against *Popery*, or so much as mention the *Popish Plot*, unless it was to exclaim against *Fanatick Villany* in contriving it, was criminal. Sir *Roger L'Estrange* is made *Licenser of the Press*, and nothing must pass but what was for the purpose. *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from* Rome; *or, The History of Popery*, is forbid by an Order of Court from the Court of *King's-Bench*, and the Author arraign'd and sentenc'd for printing *Illicite*, or without License; and that they might raise the Memory of former Things, the *Fifth of November* Anniversary grows out of request, the popular Rejoycings on that Day suppress'd, and several in *London* were fin'd and pillory'd for getting together

gether and rejoycing in the usual manner, under the Notion of Rioters.

AND now little remain'd to compleat the Destruction so long design'd. The King grew weary of Parliaments, finding that as soon as one was dismiss'd and another call'd, they still pursu'd the old Game, and went on to hunt the Royal Brother; which so far disgusted his Majesty, that he seem'd inclin'd to have done with such troublesome Assemblies: And we know that there were some, that to help forward the speedy and utter Ruin of their Country, were ready to compliment the King with their Addresses of Abhorrence, *i. e.* they abhorr'd petitioning for Parliaments, *&c.* So that henceforth the Work goes smoothly on, having none to stand in their Way, and give them a Rub: The Dissenters are worried; and, to use the Words of Dr. *Welwood*, "Whole Peals of "Anathema's were rung out against those Pa-"triots that had stood up for the Liberties of "their Country in the preceding Parliament; "it was look'd upon as a Crime against the "State for any to regret the approaching Fate "of his Country. In some places a new kind "of Funeral Harangues came in Fashion; our "Laws, our Liberties, our Parliaments, our "Native Rights, were to be bury'd; but in-"stead of dropping a Tear over 'em, fulsome "Panegyricks were made upon the Murderers, "and Curses denounc'd against those that would "have retriev'd 'em from Destruction.

THERE were indeed, during this State Tragedy, some bold and brave Men, that durst open their Mouth, and speak in behalf of their sinking Liberties and Religion, particularly the renown'd Mr. *Johnson*, who at that Time wrote his *Julian*, with an Account of *Julian*'s Life;

and a Parallel between *Popery* and *Paganism*, in which he ſufficiently expoſes the abſurd Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*; and being anſwer'd by Dr. *Hicks*, in his *Jovian*, defends what he wrote, tho' he ſuppreſs'd it for a Time: But he muſt anſwer for his *Julian*; and indeed is treated as a very *Apoſtate*: Being, after a Sort of a Tryal, ſentenced to pay five hundred Marks; to find Sureties for his good Behaviour for a Year; that he ſhould be committed Priſoner to the *King's-Bench* till the Fine was paid; and his Book be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman.

ONE Piece of Work further ſeem'd to lie upon their Hand, and that was to humble the City, who had very ſaucily ſtood upon their Privileges in the Choice of their Sheriffs, and to new-model the other Corporations: To which purpoſe, they reſolve to take away their Charter; whereby the Court not only had the making of a Common Hall, but an Houſe of Commons in a great Meaſure. Theſe Charters were the Things that now ſtood in the Way of an abſolute Government, and it was reſolv'd to break thro' this Barrier; in order to which *Quo Warranto's* were brought againſt them; and in Progreſs of Time, they were either ſurrender'd by the Corporations themſelves, or vacated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by a Set of Judges pick'd out for that purpoſe.

Quo Warranto's againſt Charters.

AND now in this Extremity of Things, when there was ſcarce one Plank left to ſwim to the Shore on, it would ſeem ſome Patriots, and zealous Lovers of their Country, that beheld with Concern its gaſping, dying Liberties, diſcourſe and conſult about Meaſures to be taken; not to deſtroy the King, as was falſly pretended, but to preſerve him, and reſcue the Go-

Government out of the Hands of a prevailing popiſh Faction, who were preparing in all haſte to ruin the Nation, and divide the Spoil among themſelves. The Earl of *Eſſex* was one of this Number, and being accus'd of Plotting, was immediately taken up, and committed to the *Tower*, where he was found dead with his Throat cut by a Razor; who did the Work, is not known. One Circumſtance was talk'd of at that Time, that the King and Duke of *York*, who had not been in the *Tower* for fifteen Years, were there that very Day, tho' it may be, it was only to carry the Razor, with which they ſay the Earl cut his own Throat. The brave Lord *Ruſſel* dies at the ſame Time, and by the ſame Hands; not for contriving a Plot againſt the King, but for proſecuting with ſo much Zeal thoſe that had been herein guilty.

Ruſſel, Sidney, and other great Patriots ſacrificed.

ALGERNON * *Sidney* fell next; part of his Crime was for writing a treaſonable Libel, to ſtir up Rebellion in the Nation, having for that purpoſe diſpers'd it all over his Cloſet. "And "thus, ſays *Wellwood*, ſome of the nobleſt Blood "of the Nation was offer'd up Sacrifice to the "*Manes* of popiſh Martyrs, and made to at- "tone for the Bill of *Excluſion*; Swearing came "once more into Faſhion, and a new Evidence- "Office was erected at *White-hall*: But where- "as the Witneſſes of the *Popiſh Plot* were brow-

* The following Verſes, containing the chief Cauſe for which not only this Great Man, but others ſuffer'd at that Time, it may be excuſable to add them, tho' otherwiſe mean.

ALgernon Sidney *fills this* [*Tomb,*
An Atheiſt for diſclaiming Rome;
A Rebel bold, for ſtriving ſtill
To keep the Laws above the Will:
Crimes damn'd by Church and Go- [*vernment,*
Alas! Where muſt his Ghoſt be ſent?
Of Heaven it cannot but deſpair,
If holy Pope be Turn-key there;
And Hell it ne'er muſt entertain:
For there is all tyrannick Reign,
Where goes it then? Where't ought [*ſo go,*
Where Pope nor Devil have to do.

"beaten and diſcourag'd, thoſe of the *Proteſtant* "*Plot* were highly encourag'd; and inſtead of "Judges and Juries that might boggle at Half-"Evidence, care was taken to pick out ſuch as "would ſtick at nothing to ſerve a Turn." And 'tis ſaid, the Lord *Howard*, as he was a forward Evidence againſt thoſe Gentlemen, ſo he was oblig'd to it, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* having reconcil'd him to the Court, upon Condition he ſhould go through the Drudgery of Swearing; and upon this Encouragement he ſoon became, as Sir *John Hawles* calls him, a *Thorough-pac'd Evidence*.

AND this was the Iſſue of the *Popiſh Plot*; by which 'tis plain it attain'd its End in a great Meaſure; for tho' the King yet lives, his Government dies, the Enemies of the Duke are diſgrac'd and murder'd, and he ſecures his Succeſſion.

The Odium of the Popiſh Plot caſt on Diſſenters.

SEVERAL beſides theſe that ſuffer immediately, were appointed to Deſtruction, and are reckon'd with, as ſoon as the Duke found his Way to the Throne: In the mean while the Odium of all this is caſt upon the Diſſenters, who were not only branded for Rebels and Villains in a Multitude of Addreſſes preſented to the King; but, *ſays the Compleat Hiſtorian*, ſeverely arraign'd by the King himſelf, in a ſolemn Form of Declaration, to all his loving Subjects, which was appointed to be read in all Churches and Chapels within the Kingdom; wherein is inſerted a particular Account of the * *Rye-Houſe* Plot, and the Names of the Conſpirators,

* Dr. *Kennet* taking Notice of theſe Plots, ſays, in the Words of a late Writer, "That "moſt look'd upon the *Preſbyterian Plot*, as a Contrivance "to baffle the *Popiſh*; many "of the Conſpirators were "executed in King *Charles's* "Time; and the Court being "reſolved to proſecute the "reſt,

ſpirators, and in what Manner they were to accompliſh the Death of the King and his Brother; and this being publiſh'd throughout the Nation, enrag'd unthinking People againſt the *Diſſenters* to that Degree, that 'tis a Wonder they did not meet with what *Cain* fear'd as his Puniſhment, *that every Body that found them, ſhould ſlay them.* It wrought however pretty well, rais'd a general Outcry, and fill'd the Goals with theſe black Criminals.

THERE would not, to be ſure, want Inſtruments for perſecuting *Diſſenters*, or carrying on any other Work the Government had to do: But the beſt qualified of all the reſt was Sir *G. Jefferies.* This Gentleman was prefer'd among ſeveral others by King *Charles*, when there was ſpecial Occaſion for ſuch Tools of Lawyers; and never did Man better anſwer the Deſign of his Advancement than this ſame *Jefferies*; neither regarding Law, Reaſon, or Conſcience, when he had the Intereſt of the Court to promote; and ſuch to cruſh, as he in his Rage would call Rebels or Fanaticks.

BUT I need ſay nothing of his Conduct; the Man and his Manners are known, and will be remembred for this Generation at leaſt; only one Inſtance I ſhall relate, it not being taken Notice of elſewhere. As he was making his Circuit in the North, calling for Vengeance where-ever he came, and taking it where he could againſt the *Diſſenters*, he came to *Newcaſtle upon Tine* at the Aſſizes, 1684. and being inform'd of a Company of young Plotters and

" reſt, the eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp—t*, Biſhop of *R——r*, was induſtriouſly ſet to work to varniſh over the Flaws of *Keeling*, and other Witneſſes Depoſitions." The Author adds, " However, as " Affairs were managed, a Romance was as fit to ſerve the " Court, as a True Hiſtory." *Vide* Compleat Hiſt. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 442.

Rebels,

Rebels, as they were reſolv'd to make them, ſets himſelf with his uſual Zeal to ſuppreſs them. The Caſe in ſhort was this:

The *Newcaſtle* young Men impriſon'd for Praying.

A Number of young Men in the Town of *Newcaſtle* (about Thirty) met together once a Week for mutual Aſſiſtance and Improvement in Religion; for which purpoſe they ſpent ſome time in Prayer and Conference, having ſubſcrib'd a Paper containing Rules for the better ordering ſuch a Society, and the Work to be done in it; taken out of a Book of Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe*'s. One of the Society, upon what Inducement he beſt knows, turns Informer; and having a Copy of this dangerous Paper, with the Names of the Subſcribers, makes a Diſcovery, and the whole Matter was laid before Judge *Jefferies* at the Aſſizes: By which it appear'd to his Lordſhip, that about thirty young Fanaticks met together weekly to Pray and Talk about Religion, *&c.* His Lordſhip, whoſe Buſineſs lay as much with ſuch as theſe, as with Felons, *&c.* reſolv'd to make Examples of them. When he was prepar'd to proceed againſt them, he order'd the Doors of the Court to be lock'd up, and kept lock'd, till ſuch of the young Men as were in Court were ſecur'd; and at the ſame time diſpatch'd the Sheriff with the proper Officers to apprehend the reſt, the Doors being ſtill kept clos'd, which made no ſmall Noiſe and ſtir in the Town. His Lordſhip, as his Manner was, began to breath out Threatnings againſt the Diſſenters; and whereas ſome of the Elder of them, with whom his Lordſhip would have taken an Occaſion to have talk'd, were withdrawn from the Town, he ſaid, *He would take the Cubs, and that would make the old Foxes appear.*

THE Offenders (ſome of whom are found in Court, and others of them brought in by the Sheriff)

Sheriff) are preſented before his Lordſhip's Tribunal: Such as know his Lordſhip's Character, will eaſily imagine (and ſome well remember it) with how much Indignation and Contempt he would look down upon theſe young Men. One of them, Mr. *Thomas Verner*, who had but a mean Aſpect at beſt (and the Work he was taken from made him appear at that time meaner than ordinary) his Lordſhip was pleas'd to ſingle out, no Queſtion, to triumph over his Ignorance, and thereby expoſe all the reſt. *Can you read, Sirrah?* ſays he. *Yes, my Lord*, anſwers Mr. *Verner*. *Reach him the Book*, ſays the Judge. The Clerk reaches him his *Latin* Teſtament. The young Man begins to read *Matt.* vii. 1, 2. (it being the firſt Place he caſt his Eye upon, without any Deſign in him, as he affirm'd afterwards) *Ne judicate, ne judicemini*, &c. *Conſtrue it, Sirrah*, ſays the Judge; which he did: *Judge not, leſt ye be judged; for with what Judgment ye judge, ye ſhall be judged.* Upon which, 'tis ſaid, his Lordſhip was a little ſtruck, and ſat in a Pauſe for ſome while (and he had Occaſion, methinks, to pauſe more upon it in the *Tower* a few Years after).

THE Iſſue of the Matter, in ſhort, was this: That the young Men, tho' never tried, were ſent to Jail, where they lay above a Year (*i. e.* from the Aſſizes in 1684. till *Feb.* 1685.) when they were admitted to Bail. And at the next Aſſizes after (*viz.* 1686.) were call'd upon and ſet at Liberty with this Reprimand by the Judge, *Go and ſin no more, leſt a worſe Thing come unto you*; adding, that the King's coming to the Throne had ſav'd all their Lives.

HOW they came to eſcape the Tryal, which the Judge ſaid he would bring them to, is not very certain; 'tis ſaid the Reaſon was, want of

Time:

Time: However, it was a good Providence to the young Men; for had he proceeded againſt them, it had been much if they had come off with their Lives. The Crime charg'd upon 'em was no leſs than High Treaſon, and a Jury was provided that would have anſwer'd his Lordſhip's Expectations, and follow'd his Directions. One of the Jury being ask'd what they intended to do with the young Men, anſwer'd, *There remain'd nothing for them* (the Jury) *to do, but to bring them in Guilty; for that a Paper produced in Court, and acknowledged by themſelves to be ſubſcribed by them, was by the Lord Chief Juſtice declar'd to be High Treaſon.* So that if they had been try'd, it had been for High Treaſon; and 'tis known his Lordſhip ſeldom ſaw Cauſe to acquit any ſuch Traitors as theſe.

NOR were the Diſſenters only run down, tho' they were mark'd for peculiar Infamy and Hardſhips; all the reſt of the Nation, *beſides Papiſts and Tories*, were branded as Fanaticks, and treated accordingly: For any to oppoſe the Tyranny of the Times, favour the Bill of Excluſion, ſpeak againſt the Duke, or appear in the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, was almoſt the ſame thing, as formerly wearing a Faggot to the *Lollards*. In this Cauſe Multitudes ſuffer'd; ſome Fines and Impriſonments, and others Death. Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* was fin'd Ten Thouſand Pounds; Alderman *Wright* impriſon'd; *Dutton Colt* fin'd an Hundred Thouſand Pounds; Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* executed at *Tyburn*; Mr. *Roſwell*, a Diſſenting Miniſter, was arraign'd for High Treaſon and found Guilty; indeed the laſt Year of the King's Life was almoſt wholly employ'd in ſuch Work. The Worthy Grand Jury of *Weſtminſter* deſerves to be remembred for a notable Preſentment exactly to the

Barnardiſton, Dutton Colt, &c. unreaſonably fin'd.

the Guſt of the Times, *viz.* That all thoſe that were for the Bill of Excluſion ſhould be proſecuted, and all Conventicles, *&c.*

AND this was the bleeding State of the Nation under King *Charles* II. This was the Improvement he made of all his Sufferings, and the Experience he ſometimes, at his firſt coming to the Crown, talk'd of as learnt thereby. What his Religion really was, whether *Deiſt*, *Papiſt*, or *Nothing*, is not to our Purpoſe to enquire; but 'tis certain his Reign was Popiſh enough, and ſome have thought he came under Engagements when Abroad to favour the Catholick Cauſe, if ever he was reſtor'd. "'Tis believ'd, "*ſays my Lord* Clarendon, that in the *Pyrenean* "Treaty ſomething was agreed, (*viz.* by King "*Charles* with the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*) "to the Prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt:" Which the *Compleat Hiſtory* ſuppoſes to be no leſs than to eſtabliſh Popery, or at leaſt tolerate it, ſetting an Example in his own Perſon. When he came to die he receiv'd *extream Unction* from *Huddleſton* the Prieſt: Whether he deſir'd it, I can't ſay; and we know after his Death his Brother endeavour'd to convince the Nation of his being a Papiſt, by publiſhing two Papers taken out of the ſtrong Box, implying as much.

King *Charles* thinks of changing his Meaſures.

IT ſeems, a little before his Death, he began to awake out of his Security, became thoughtful about retrieving Things, if poſſible. 'Tis ſaid, diſcourſing of the deſperate Condition of his Affairs, he complain'd how much he had been abus'd, and took Occaſion to ſay, That if he liv'd a Month longer, he would find a Way to make himſelf eaſy the reſt of his Life. This he ſpoke with ſome Warmth; and 'tis ſuppos'd his Deſign was to ſend the Duke of *York* Abroad,

Abroad, call home * *Monmouth*, call a new Parliament, and purſue quite different Meaſures from what he had done.

He is haſtned into another World.

BUT theſe Reſolutions came too late; the Duke of *York* and his Creatures preſently got Knowledge of the King's Diſcourſe, and thought it high time to beſtir themſelves to prevent the Miſchief and Diſappointment that threatned them, and therefore forthwith prepare the King for the *laſt Anointing*; ſo that on the 6th of *February*, 1684. in the midſt of his uſual Health, he makes his Exit, and leaves the Throne to his impatient Brother, and the Nation under the Plague of a Popiſh Prince, as a Puniſhment of their own Choice and Folly.

* *Monmouth* was now in *Holland*, whither the Duke of *York*'s Diſpleaſure had forced him. The King ſtill follow'd him with Marks of that warm Affection that he always bore towards him, tho' often diſſembled; he furniſhed him with Money, ſent him kind Meſſages, wrote to him with his own Hand, and was now reſolved to bring him to Court. This the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf takes notice of in his Journal, *January* 5, ſays he, I received a Letter from *L*—— marked by Twenty nine (*i. e.* the King) that in *February* I ſhould certainly have leave to return. *February* 3, I had a Letter from *L*—— that my Buſineſs was almoſt done, but muſt be ſo ſudden, as not to leave room for Thirty nine's (*i. e.* the Duke of *York*'s) Party to counter-plot: In the mean time the Duke of *York* was to be ſent away, which it was ſuppoſed the King had intimated to him; ſo that there was like to be a ſpeedy Revolution at Court, a Change of Counſels and Counſellors, which the Duke and his Creatures to be ſure would not eaſily bear; and 'tis very probable the new Project was all the Diſtemper King *Charles* had in his Head, and the real Apoplexy of which he died.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

King James's *Acceſſion. He conceals his Intention to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion. His Declaration in Council.* Monmouth's *Inſurrection and Fall, with the Sufferings of* Oats, Dangerfield, Johnſon, *&c. Mr.* Baxter's *Tryal for his Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament. King* James *ſets up his diſpenſing Power. The* Scots *zealouſly aſſert the King's abſolute Power, and aſſiſt him in the Exerciſe of it.* Tyrconnel's *Methods to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion in* Ireland. *The Violence offer'd to the Proteſtants, with Reference to their Liberties, Eſtates, Religion and Lives. The diſpenſing Power pleaded for by the Judges in* England, *and Popery barefac'd. Church of* England *Divines, their commendable Zeal againſt Popery, and the Reaſons why the Diſſenters wrote ſo little at that Time. King* James's *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. An Apology for the Diſſenters Addreſſing on that Occaſion. Proceedings againſt the Univerſities of* Oxford

ford *and* Cambridge. *Impriſoning the Biſhops. The Biſhops ſent to the* Tower, *and acquitted. The juſt Suſpicions about the Queen's great Belly. The Nation, in Extremity, with one Voice cry to the Prince of* Orange; *who undertakes their Deliverance, and happily ſucceeds.*

King *James* goes openly to Maſs firſt Lord's-Day after his Acceſſion.

THE Reader needs not be ſurpriz'd when I tell him, that plotting againſt the Proteſtant Religion and *Britiſh* Liberties, was now very much at an End. The Thing to be done in *this*, was to execute Plots of *former Reigns*, and accompliſh what they had been ſo long preparing. King *James* immediately after the Death of his Brother, the next Lord's-Day, went openly to Maſs; thereby proclaiming to all the World, what it was a Crime to whiſper a little before. Indeed ſome even of the Papiſts thought this not over Politick, it was however fair Warning to the Proteſtants what they muſt expect.

BUT tho' King *James* was willing thus to own himſelf a Papiſt, and paſs for ſuch among his Subjects; he endeavours ſo far to impoſe upon them, as to make them believe he would take care of the Proteſtant Religion, a Thing impoſſible and inconſiſtent with what he profeſs'd; for nothing is more certain, than that every Catholick Prince is bound by all that's Sacred, even upon Penalty of Damnation, to deſtroy Hereticks, and root out Hereſy out of his Dominions: An Omiſſion of what the Church has made Duty herein, will bring a Prince under the Anathema of the Fourth *Lateran*

teran Council, and the Council of *Conſtance*: It has ruined many a one in this World, and they ſay will damn him in the next. All this, to be ſure, King *James* knew well enough; the *Jeſuits*, the conſtant Directors of his Conſcience, would not ſuffer him to be ignorant of it, and the Event ſhows he was true to the Principles of Religion he had eſpous'd, and that he acted according to the Reſolution he's ſaid to have taken, *viz. Either to convert* England *to Popery, or die a Martyr.*

NOTWITHSTANDING he thought fit to conceal his real Intentions (I may call them ſolemn Obligations) to extirpate Hereſy for a time; and therefore the Day King *Charles* died, he meets the Council, and makes the following Declaration:

MY LORDS,

BEfore I enter upon any Buſineſs, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you. Since it has pleas'd Almighty God to place me in this Station, and I am now to ſucceed ſo good and gracious a King as well as ſo very kind a Brother; I think it fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example, and moſt eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that is not the only Story that has been made of Me; and I ſhall make it my Endeavour to preſerve this Government, both in Church and State, *as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd. I know the Principles of the Church of* England *are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have ſhewn themſelves Good and Loyal Subjects; therefore I ſhall always take Care to* Defend and Support it. *I know too, that the Laws of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as Great a Monarch as I can wiſh: And as I*

King *James* promiſes he will maintain the Proteſtant Religion, &c

ſhall never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, ſo, I ſhall never Invade any Man's Property. *I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of this Nation, and I ſhall ſtill go as far as any Man in preſerving it,* in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.

THESE good Words, deſign'd to blind the Eyes of a credulous People, and continue their Deluſion upon them, were repeated to his Parliament in *May* following; when he tells them he choſe to give them this Aſſurance concerning the Care he would take of Religion and Property, in the Words he us'd when he firſt came to the Crown: *The better to evidence to you,* ſays he, *that I ſpoke them not* by Chance, *and conſequently you may* firmly *rely upon a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made.* But who could *firmly* rely upon the Promiſe, that knows 'tis lawful to make any Promiſes to *Hereticks on purpoſe to deceive them*; and that 'tis not only lawful, but Duty, to break thoſe ſolemn Promiſes when made; nay, that 'tis a damnable Sin not to do it. And yet, unhappy Nation! how were all Sorts of People cajolled and cheated with Words of Vanity?

IN another Speech, a few Days after, he goes further, and tells them, *He had a* true Engliſh Heart, *as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as theirs could be; and that he pleas'd himſelf with the Hopes, that, with the Bleſſing of God, and the Parliaments Aſſiſtance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World than ever it had been in the Time of his Anceſtors.* And now the Work is done, all Hearts are gain'd, and the whole Nation almoſt falls at his Feet: Nay, it ſeems, the *French* Court was ſtruck with this unexpected Language, inſomuch that

a great

a great Minister there presently writes to their Ambassador in *England*, signifying to him, *That the King's Speech afforded sufficient Matter of Thought with them, being in a Strain that look'd* quite contrary *to what they expected*: Adding, *If he and his Parliament come to a cordial Trust one of another, it may probably change all the Measures we have been* so long *concerting, for the Glory of our Monarch, and the establishing the Catholick Religion.* It seems they suspected the King would begin to consult his own Safety and Honour, and endeavour to oblige a People, that were many of them so justly Jealous of him: But they were afraid where no Fear was, King *James* had thoroughly imbib'd the *Jesuits* Principles, and gave abundant Proof he understood the infamous Maxim his Grandfather us'd to repeat, and indeed practise as much as any Man in the World, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*: He's not fit for a King that can't dissemble.

BUT let's a little enquire into this Matter; see how King *James* perform'd in the Particulars mention'd. We heard what he promis'd, *viz.* To govern with great Clemency and Tenderness to his People; to preserve the Government both in Church and State: And how well he did this, let the Transactions of his whole Reign witness; let many Thousands of the present Age tell; and let faithful Annals tell it to Posterity, *as a Caution how they ever any more trust the Word and Promise of a Popish King.*

MONMOUTH's Rebellion (who was King *Charles*'s Natural Son by Mrs. *Walter*, unless, as many thought, he was married to her, and a very great Favourite of that Prince) gave King *James* one of the first Opportunities o shewing his Mercy. This Gentleman, after

Monmouth's Imprecation and Fall, with the Sufferings of his Adherents.

King *Charles*'s Death, expecting no Favour at the *Engliſh* Court, continues Abroad, and retiring from the World, betakes himſelf to a more ſtudious Courſe of Life than formerly; but was prevail'd with by the earneſt Solicitations and Entreaty of ſome warm and zealous Proteſtants, that were loath to ſtand by and ſee their Country ſink, to undertake its Reſcue, which he did (very unſeaſonably to be ſure) and as is known, miſcarry'd and periſh'd in the Attempt.

Now call this Rebellion, or any thing elſe, the Methods of Proſecution King *James* took, were ſuch as very much leſſen'd the Character of his Clemency: His admitting *Monmouth* into his Preſence, when he was reſolv'd to ſacrifice him, look'd like triumphing over his Miſery. This Piece of Conduct, ſays *Wellwood*, was an Exception againſt a general Rule, inviolably obſerv'd among Kings, *Never to allow a Criminal under Sentence of Death the Sight of his Prince's Face, without a Deſign to pardon him*; but 'twas done, it's thought, to gratify the Queen's Malice, and give her an Opportunity to inſult him; which ſhe did unmercifully. The unhappy Man was immediately hurried from his Majeſty's Preſence to the *Tower*, and two Days after to the Scaffold: Where, a little before his Execution, he deliver'd a Paper, declaring he died in the Faith of this, *That God would work a Deliverance for his People*; *And then will be diſcover'd*, ſays he, *the great, horrid, and ſcarce to be parallel'd Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of*; adding, *That he died a Martyr for the People*: And with the like Perſuaſion of Deliverance coming, many others died that ſuffer'd with him in the ſame Cauſe. Captain *Anſley* was not the only Perſon that ſpoke to this Effect, viz. *That he did not repent of what he had done*; adding,

adding, *Tho' it hath pleased the wise God, for Reasons best known to himself, now to blast our Designs, yet he will deliver his People by Ways we think not of.*

THE Head of the Rebellion being taken off, they proceed against the Accomplices; "And "tho' Wise and Good Princes (to use the Words "of an ingenious Writer *) content themselves "on such Occasions with punishing the Ring-"leaders, and some few Adherents; now by a "Barbarity not to be parallel'd in the Reigns "of *Nero*, *Caligula*, and the most celebrated "Tyrants; not only those who had been actu-"ally in Arms with the Duke of *Monmouth*, "but even those who had any Way assisted, or "so much as harbour'd them (whether they "could help it or not) were equally involv'd "in the Crime of his Insurrection. Posterity "will hardly believe the Cruelties committed "by the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies*; who, "with four other Judges, his Assistants, and a "Body of Troops commanded by *Kirk*, was "sent into the West of *England*, with a special "Commission to try the poor Wretches."

HOW they executed their Commission there, is related by many Histories, more particularly than I can pretend to do here. 'Tis said, that this infamous Judge (*Jefferies*) condemn'd above five hundred Persons in a few Towns of the West, whereof two hundred twenty nine were executed: Some found the Benefit, I can't say of the King's Mercy, but the Judge's Avarice, who was ready enough to grant a Pardon to such as could pay well for it; and it seems Pardons were sold by him at all Sorts of Prices, from Ten Pounds to Fourteen thousand Gui-

* History of K. *William*, Vol. I. p. 168.

neas, which last Sum this *Judge of Iniquity* did not scruple to take from Mr. *Sp———s*, and with which he bought an Estate, that may be justly call'd the *Field of Blood*. When he came to *Dorchester*, he contriv'd a notable Stratagem to dispatch thirty Prisoners that were accus'd of Assisting the Duke of *Monmouth*; he told them, whoever pleaded not Guilty, and were found otherwise, should have little time to live; and if any expected Favour, they must plead Guilty: By which Means many were decoy'd, and drawn to plead Guilty, whom he condemned out of their own Mouths.

SOME Circumstances of this brutish Man's Proceedings are peculiar. An extream Old Woman, Mrs. *Lisle*, was try'd for concealing Mr. *Hicks*, a Nonconformist Minister (in no Proclamation) and one Mr. *Nelthrop*, a Stranger to her; and tho' the Jury brought her in three times not Guilty, the Judge hector'd them out of their Consciences, and the poor Gentlewoman out of her Life; so at last they were forced to change their Verdict, and make her Guilty of High-Treason, for which she was Beheaded. The *Taunton* Virgins that only flourish'd Colours for *Monmouth*, were forced to buy their Pardons, at fifty, forty, thirty Pounds, *&c.* a-piece. Some, 'tis said, suffer'd for carrying in their Waggons the Duke's Baggage, tho' constrain'd to it. A Constable was hang'd for executing *Monmouth*'s Warrant, which he was commanded to do; and another poor Man for selling three Pennyworth of Hay for his Horse.

BESIDES the capital Punishments, several were condemn'd to be Whipt; of which Number was Mr. *John Tutchin*. It seems he escap'd the Fate he expected (Hanging) by changing his Name; which when *Jefferies* understood, he

he caus'd him to be brought before him again, after he had dismiss'd and acquitted him; and having rail'd at him, as his Manner was, he sentenc'd him to remain in Prison seven Years, and once every Year to be whipt thro' all the Towns in *Dorsetshire*. One present signify'd to his Lordship, that there were a great many Towns in the County, and that the Sentence would amount to a Whipping about once a Fortnight; adding, And he's a very young Man. *Aye*, says *Jefferies*, *he's a young Man, but he's an old Rogue; and all the Interest in* England *shan't reverse the Sentence I've past upon him.* Upon which Mr. *Tutchin* petitions the King to grant him the Favour to be hang'd with the rest of his Fellow-Prisoners.

AND these were some of the Triumphs of that bloody Man. Indeed King *James's* Friends, to take off from him the Infamy of such Proceedings, pretended that he show'd his Dislike of them; but I know not which Way, unless by making *Jefferies*, the Author of them, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, upon his Return; and that in Consideration, as 'twas express'd, of the many eminent and faithful Services he had render'd the Crown, as well in the late King's Time, as since his Majesty's Accession.

I shall only take Notice, that tho' *Jefferies* gloried in what he had done, yet Colonel *Kirk* put in for Part of the Honour of this Service: One Circumstance may serve for a Taste of the Man. Upon the Day appointed for the Execution of some of his Prisoners, he invites the Officers to Dinner, and for their Entertainment orders ten of the Prisoners to be turn'd off the Ladder with an Health to the King, ten in an Health to the Queen, and ten in an Health to *Jefferies*. And when the Inhumanity of this,

and other of his Executions, were complain'd of, he excus'd himſelf, and ſaid he did nothing but by expreſs Order from the King and his General.

THIS Work being diſpatch'd, King *James* is at Leiſure to reckon with ſome of his Old Friends, ſuch as had ſtood in his Way, and diſoblig'd him in the Matter of the Popiſh Plot, *&c.* in the former Reign. He begins with *Titus Oates*, who was try'd for a double Perjury in the Evidence he had given about the Plot, and receiv'd the following Sentence:

Oates, Dangerfield, Johnſon, &c. Sufferings.

THAT he be diveſted of his Canonical Robes for ever; That on Tueſday *he ſtand in the Pillory before the* Royal Exchange; *That on* Wedneſday *he be whipt from* Aldgate *to* Newgate *by the Common Hangman, and on* Friday *following from* Newgate *to* Tyburn; *That he ſtand in the Pillory five Times (on the Days mention'd) every Year; That he pay a Fine of a Thouſand Marks for each Perjury, and remain in Priſon during Life.*

THE Sentence was punctually put in Execution; on *Wedneſday* he was whipt, or rather flay'd, the Hangman being fee'd to do his Work thoroughly; and on *Friday* the dreadful Gaſhes made in his Back two Days before were open'd by the ſecond Whipping; which, tho' it muſt have been almoſt intolerable, was thought to be a Means of ſaving his Life. On *June* 28, 1685. the ſame Year, *Dangerfield* was ſentenc'd for his Narrative that he publiſh'd; by which he made it appear, "That the *Presbyterian Plot* "was nothing but a Contrivance of the *Papiſts*, "to conceal their own Plot againſt the King and "Government, and to throw it upon the *Pres-* "*byterians:*" For this he was fin'd five hundred Pounds, whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and in his

his Return from *Tyburn* was run into the Eye by a Papiſt with a Tuck at the End of a Cane, of which he died. Sometime after *Miles Prance* was ſentenc'd and puniſh'd, fin'd and whipt, as perjur'd in the Evidence he brought about Sir *Edmund Godfrey*: Alderman *Corniſh* was condemn'd for High-Treaſon, for having engaged to aſſiſt *Monmouth*, &c. "But, *ſays one juſtly*, "the true Reaſon of this Proſecution was, that "Mr. *Corniſh*, when Sheriff of *London*, had been "very active againſt the popiſh Conſpirators; "ſo that now his Blood muſt expiate his Zeal "for the Proteſtant Religion."

MR. *Johnſon*, that we mention'd before, and left Suffering, is now call'd over the Coals again, and has his Back plough'd by the King's Order; after he had been degraded by the Biſhop of *Durham*, and others of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. His great Offence was the Zeal and Boldneſs he had ſhown in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and particularly his Addreſs to the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in King *James*'s Army; for this he is ſentenc'd to ſtand three times in the Pillory, to pay a Fine of five hundred Marks, and to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was executed with much Severity. 'Tis ſaid, a mercenary Prieſt offer'd to beg off the latter Part of the Sentence (the Whipping) for two hundred Pounds, but could not prevail with the King, who anſwer'd, *Since Mr.* Johnſon *has the Spirit of Martyrdom, it was fit he ſhould ſuffer.*

IT would be too large to relate all the Paſſages of this Kind; what has been ſaid may ſerve for a Sample, and therefore I ſhall cloſe the Account with the Caſe of Mr. *Baxter*. He was committed by *Jefferies*'s Warrant for his Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, which was call'd

Mr. *Baxter*'s Tryal for Notes on the New Teſtament.

call'd a ſcandalous and ſeditious Book againſt the Government. *May* 18, he was brought to his Tryal; but being very much indiſpos'd, he mov'd by his Council for further Time: But the Judge cries out in a Paſſion, *I will not give him a Minute's Time to ſave his Life: We have had to deal with other ſort of Perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with: I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners.* *Yonder*, ſays he, *ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory, and he ſays he ſuffers for Truth, and ſo ſays* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other Side of the Pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt Rogues and Raſcals in the Kingdom ſtood there.* The Paſſages accus'd were his Paraphraſe on *Matt.* 5. 19. *Mark* 3. 6. *Mark* 9. 39. *Mark* 11. 30. *&c.* The main Charge was, That he in theſe Paſſages reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and ſo was Guilty of Sedition. His Council were not ſuffer'd to proceed in the Defence of their Client, but were brow-beaten and hectored by the Judge in a Manner that ſuited *Billingſgate*, much better than the Tribunal of Juſtice. Mr. *Baxter* beginning to ſpeak for himſelf, ſays *Jefferies* to him, *Richard, Richard, do'ſt thou think we'll hear thee poiſon the Court?* And Richard, *thou art an Old Fellow, an Old Knave: Thou haſt written Books enow to fill a Cart; every one as full of Sedition (I may ſay Treaſon) as an Egg is full of Meat: Hadſt thou been whipt out of thy Writing-Trade forty Years ago, it had been happy. I know thou haſt a mighty Party and I ſee a great many of thy Brotherhood in Corners to ſee what will become of their* mighty Don; *but by the Grace of Almighty God I'll cruſh them all.*

AFTER this ſtrange Inſult, another of Mr. *Baxter*'s Council (Mr. *Atkinſon*) begins to ſpeak, and

and to clear Mr. *Baxter*, would have read some Paſſages of the Book; but *Jefferies* cry'd out, *You ſhan't draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your ſnivelling Parſon neither.* So that when neither he himſelf, nor the Lawyers could be heard, but were all ſilenc'd by Noiſe and Fury, the Judge proceeded to ſum up the Matter to the Jury. *'Tis notoriouſly known*, ſays he, *there has been a Deſign to Ruin the King and Nation; the old Game has been renew'd, and this has been the main Incendiary. He's as modeſt now as can be; but the Time was, when no Man was ſo ready at* Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; *and*, To your Tents, O *Iſrael! Gentlemen, for God's Sake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age.* When he had done his Harangue, Mr. *Baxter* preſum'd to ſay, *Does your Lordſhip think any Jury will pretend to paſs a Verdict on me upon ſuch a Tryal? I'll warrant you, Mr.* Baxter, ſays he; *don't trouble your Head about that.* The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and brought him in Guilty. This was *May* 30. and on the 29th of *June* following Judgment was given againſt him, That he ſhould pay a Fine of five hundred Marks, lye in Priſon till it was paid, and be bound to his Good Behaviour ſeven Years. And thus we have ſeen how the firſt Part of King *James*'s Promiſe was made good: *Such was his Clemency! This the Mercy of his Government!*

I am now to conſider him in another Reſpect, as Governing *according to Law, preſerving Liberty and Religion*, for this he had promis'd and ſwore to at his Coronation: But certainly he that has either read or heard the Paſſages of his Reign, muſt conclude he had a bad Conſcience, or a bad Memory; and that he either never

never design'd what he promis'd, or soon forgot himself. 'Tis needless to produce Particulars for the Proof of this to *Englishmen*, witness his whole Reign; however I shall touch upon a few Things.

King *James* sets up his dispensing Power.

IT was look'd upon a little ominous, that immediately after his Declaration in Council, wherein he tells them he would invade no Man's Property, he should put forth a Proclamation for levying and continuing that Part of the Customs, that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life. This was perfectly needless, a Parliament being soon to meet, who, no question, would have granted that by Law, which he seized without; and many took Umbrage at it, apprehending 'twas done on purpose to introduce that *Form of Absolute Government he resolv'd to set up*. The better to countenance this, and make it the more effectual, an Address was procur'd from the *Middle Temple*, presented by Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*; wherein they own his Majesty's Care of the Government *in preserving the Customs*; that his Majesty's *high Prerogative* is the *greatest Security* of the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

BUT this was but playing at small Games, and touching with the little Finger; it was higher Things the King aim'd at, and therefore when he had got thro' the Trouble *Monmouth*'s Insurrection gave him, he opens his Mind more fully to the next Parliament *, and declares both for a *Standing Army*, and for *Intrusting Papists with Commissions* in it. He tells them the Concern he had for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of his Government, made him think it necessary to en-

* *November* 9, 1686.

crease

creaſe the Number of his Army to the Proportion he had done; adding (which was the main Point) *Let none take Offence that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Teſts for their Employments. The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are well known to me; and having formerly ſerv'd me on many Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think 'em now fit to be employ'd under me: And will deal plainly with you, that after having had the Benefit of their Services at ſuch a Time of Need and Danger, I will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the Want of them, if there ſhall be another Rebellion to make them neceſſary to me.* So that now the King ſpoke out, declaring for a Standing Army in Time of Peace, and without Conſent of Parliament; and at once diſpenſing with all the Oaths and Teſts the Law had ſet as a Bulwark againſt Popery.

THE Houſe of Commons were juſtly alarm'd at this; and therefore, after many Debates, repreſent to his Majeſty, that theſe Officers could not by Law be capable of their Employments, nor could the Incapacities they were under be remov'd but by Act of Parliament; but that out of the great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to his Majeſty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had incurr'd, and 'tis ſaid the Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament ſuch a Number of *Roman-Catholick* Officers, as his Majeſty ſhould give a Liſt of: But this did not anſwer the King's Purpoſe; and therefore, after he had ſtorm'd at the Diſappointment, he put an End to their Debates, by proroguing and then diſſolving them.

The Houſe of Commons againſt popiſh Officers, contrary to Law.

THINGS

The *Scots* assert the King's absolute Power.

THINGS not succeeding as was hop'd in *England*, his Majesty turn'd himself to his Friends in *Scotland*, where he expected a more entire Compliance, having found the first Parliament there, which sat down *May* 23, 1685, *so much after his own Heart*. The first Act they pass'd was call'd, *An Act for the Security of the Protestant Religion*; but (says Dr. *Kennet* truly) they meant it for the Extirpation of the Presbyterians. The next Act was *for Settling the Excise of Inland and Foreign Commodities upon his Majesty and Heirs for ever*: And in the Preamble of this Act they declare, "That they abhor all "Principles which are derogatory to the King's "Sacred, Supreme and Absolute Authority, "which none, whether private Persons or colle-"giate Bodies, can participate of any Manner "of Way, but in Dependance on him; and "therefore they take this Occasion to re-"new their hearty and sincere Offer of their "Lives and Fortunes, to assist, and defend and "maintain his Rights and Prerogatives against "all Mortals." The 8th of *May*, the same Parliament pass'd two other Acts; the first to forbid Preaching, or Resorting to House or Field Conventicles, under Pain of Death, &c. the other to make it High-Treason to give or take the National Covenant, as explain'd 1638. or write in the Defence of it*; and the better to tie up that Nation to a *Despotick Yoke*, they pass'd another Act on the 24th of the said Month, ordaining all the Subjects of that Kingdom, whensoever requir'd, to assert the Royal Prerogatives, and swear to defend the King and his Successors in the Exercise of their Absolute Power, under the Pain of Banishment.

* History of King *William*, Vol. I. p. 186.

THE

THE King presuming from these Advances, says an ingenious Writer, the *Scots* would easily be fashion'd to his Pleasure, he recommends to them his *Innocent Roman Catholick Subjects*; who, as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, so he would have them have the Protection of his Laws, without lying under Obligations their Religion could not admit of. But tho' many were for obliging his Majesty in this, it could not be carried without warm Debates, and strong Objections on the other Side; in the midst of which his Majesty sends an Express to the Earl of *Murray*, to prorogue or dissolve the Parliament: However, the *February* following, 1686. he does the Work himself in a Way more agreeable to him; he puts forth his Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience, repealing the Laws made against the Papists; and it seems, the Lords of the Council were so entirely devoted to the Court, as to receive this illegal Proclamation, contriv'd to ruin the Protestant Interest, with Applause; telling his Majesty, "His Orders "were exactly obey'd, and that his Royal Pro- "clamation was printed and publish'd, by "which his Majesty had given a further Proof "of his Favour and Goodness to all his Sub- "jects; adding, That they conceive such of his "Subjects (meaning the Papists) as shall be "employ'd by his Majesty in Offices of Trust, "Civil or Military, are sufficiently secur'd by "his Authority and Commission for exercising "the same." This was exactly to the King's Gust; but what then signifie Acts of Parliament?

BUT it was in *Ireland* that King *James*'s Designs of enslaving his People, and setting up Popery, took most. The King begun there as soon

ſoon as he came to the Throne, and purſu'd his Meaſures ſo vigorouſly, that the Proteſtant Intereſt in a few Years was brought to the laſt Gaſp. Dr. *Kennet* ſays the Proſpect of this broke the Heart of the Duke of *Ormond*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but recall'd within leſs than two Months after King *James*'s Acceſſion. It would require a Volume to relate but part of the illegal, arbitrary, cruel and inhumane Methods, us'd under the Adminiſtration of *Tyrconnel*, to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants, and ſet up Popery in that Kingdom; and 'tis excellently well done already in Biſhop *King*'s *State of Ireland*, whither I refer. I ſhall only tranſcribe a few Paſſages out of him, to give the Reader a more comprehenſive Idea of the Miſeries of thoſe Times; and I ſhall firſt take Notice what Sort of Creatures they were King *James* advanc'd and employ'd as his Tools in all his foul Work.

Tyrconnel's Methods to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty in Ireland.

"IN *Ireland*, ſays my Author, before it was "conquer'd by the *Engliſh*, the Heads of Septs "were abſolute over their Tenants; their "Wills paſs'd for Laws, and all their Proceed-"ings were merely arbitrary and deſpotick; "whatever the Landlord had occaſion for, he "ſent to his Tenant's Houſe, and caus'd it to "be brought him, without Conſideration or "Allowance; or, if he pleas'd, he went to the "Tenant's Houſe with his Retinue, and there "ſtay'd as long as he thought fit, eating and "drinking, and uſing every thing the Tenant "had as his own. This Practice was call'd "*Coſhering*, and ſeveral Laws have been made "againſt it: But many of the old Landlords "loſt their Eſtates by Outlawries and Attain-"ders, for their Rebellion in the Year 1641. "and for murdering the Proteſtants at that Time;

" Time; many of them had ſold their Eſtates, " and ſome had mortgag'd them for more than " their Value two or three times to ſeveral Per- " ſons, a Practice very common in *Ireland*. But " it is obſervable, that 'tis the Humour of this " People to count an Eſtate ſtill their own, tho' " they have ſold it on a moſt valuable Conſide- " ration, or have been turn'd out of it by the " moſt regular Proceedings of Juſtice; ſo that " they reckon every Eſtate theirs, that either " they or their Anceſtors had at any time in " their Poſſeſſion, no Matter how many Years " ago; and by their pretended Title and Gen- " tility, they have ſuch an Influence upon the " poor Tenants, of their own Nation and Re- " ligion, who live on thoſe Lands, that theſe " Tenants look on them ſtill, tho' out of Poſ- " ſeſſion of their Eſtates, as a kind of Land- " lords; maintain them after a Faſhion in Idle- " neſs, and entertain them in the *Coſhering Man- " ner*. Theſe Vagabonds reckon'd themſelves " great Gentlemen, and that it would be a great " Diſparagement to 'em to betake themſelves " to any Calling, Trade, or Way of Induſtry; " and therefore either ſupported themſelves by " Stealing or Torying, or oppreſſing the poor " Farmers, and exacting ſome kind of Main- " tenance, either from their Clans or Septs, or " from thoſe that liv'd on the Eſtates to which " they pretended; and theſe pretended Gentle- " men, together with the numerous *Coſhering*, " Popiſh Clergy, that liv'd much after the ſame " Manner, were the two greateſt Grievances " of the Kingdom, and more eſpecially hindred " its Settlement and Happineſs: The Laws of " *England* were intolerable to them both, nor " could they ſubmit under them. " As

" As to the popiſh Landlords, who yet re-
" tain'd their Eſtates, it put them out of all
" Patience to find that the *Bodough*, their Te-
" nant (for ſo they call the meaner Sort of
" People) ſhould have equal Juſtice againſt
" them, as well as againſt their *Fellow-Churl*.
" That the Landlord ſhould be call'd to an
" Account for killing or robbing his Tenant,
" or raviſhing his Daughter, ſeem'd to them an
" unreaſonable Hardſhip. It was unſufferable
" to Men that had been us'd to no Law but
" their own Will, to be levell'd with the mean-
" eſt in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and eve-
" ry time they were croſs'd by a Tenant that
" would not patiently bear their Impoſitions,
" they curs'd in their Hearts the Laws of *En-*
" *gland*, and call'd to mind the glorious Days
" of their Anceſtors, who with a Word of their
" Mouths could hang, or ruin which of their
" Dependants they pleas'd, and had in them-
" ſelves the Power of Peace or War.

" Now theſe very Men were the Officers
" King *James* employ'd and truſted above all
" others; he eſpous'd their Intereſt from the
" Time he had Thoughts of the Crown; they
" were his Favourites and Confidents, and to
" provide for them, he turn'd his *Engliſh* and
" Proteſtant Subjects firſt out of the Army, then
" out of their Civil Truſts and Employments,
" and laſtly out of their Fortunes and Eſtates.
" He knew very well that the Tempers and
" Genius of theſe Men were at Enmity to the
" Laws, and fitted for that Conſtitution of
" Slavery under which he deſign'd to bring the
" Kingdoms: He found that none were more
" fawning to their Superiors than they, nor did
" they flatter with more Meanneſs and Servi-
" lity; and according to the Nature of ſuch

People,

" People, none are more insolent and tyrannous " to their Inferiours: And this was the Reason " that they were so dear to King *James*, and " that he preferr'd and trusted them, rather than " his Protestant and *English* Subjects. The " Bargain betwixt him and them was plainly " this, *Restore us to our former Power, Estates* " *and Religion, and we will serve you as you please,* " *in your own Way.* An Expression that King " *James* and all his Creatures often us'd, and " were very fond of."

ANY one may discern how admirably cut out and adapted these *Cannibals* were for King *James*'s Purpose; nor was it long before he introduc'd them into his Service, displacing others to make Way for them. *Ormond* being recall'd, the Privy Council was immediately dissolv'd, and all such Protestants as had been most hearty for the Protestant Interest were dismiss'd; so that in a little Time the major Part of the Council consisted of Papists. Colonel *Richard Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, was first made Lieutenant-General, and intrusted with the new modelling the Army. " He was, *says* " *Dr.* King, a Person more hated than any o- " ther by the *English*;" and had been nam'd by *Oates* in his Narrative for this very Employment; which made many that believ'd nothing of the Popish Plot before, now give Credit to his Narrative; and the common Saying was, That if *Oates* was an *ill Evidence*, he was certainly a *good Prophet*. *Tyrconnel* consider'd the Army as the only Engine he depended on for destroying the Religion, Liberty and Laws of the Kingdom, and therefore resolv'd to have it fitted for his Purpose; which he set about with all Expedition, and prosecuted in such a Manner as might be expected from a Man of his

inſolent Temper, exerciſing the utmoſt Falſhood and Barbarity. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Cloſet, and with all the Oaths, Curſes and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profeſs Friendſhip and Kindneſs, and promiſe him the Continuance of his Commiſſion, and in the Afternoon caſhier him with all the Contempt he could heap on him; nay, it may be, while he was thus careſſing him, he had actually given away his Commiſſion; and ſuch as he turn'd out, he treated barbarouſly, ſeizing the Horſes of many Officers, cheating them of their Pay, and ſtripping the Common Soldiers even of their Shirts; ſo that ſome hundred Gentlemen, that had laid out their Eſtates in buying Commiſſions, were depriv'd of them in an arbitrary Manner, and five or ſix thouſand Soldiers ſent a begging, and a Company of *Iriſh* Papiſts were ſubſtituted in their Room.

SOME time after he is made Lord Lieutenant: The News of which amaz'd the poor Proteſtants; it ſtruck like a Thunderbolt; perhaps no Age, ſays the Biſhop, can parallel ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come, every one lamenting their Condition, and almoſt all that could abandoning the Kingdom.

THE Judges are preſently chang'd, the Proteſtants generally turn'd out, and ſome of the moſt profligate, branded Creatures in the whole Profeſſion of the Law put in, who had no other Merit but that of Bigottry to Popery, an implacable Rage againſt the Proteſtants, and a Readineſs to ſerve King *James* in his own Way. Take an Example in the Chancellor. (*& ex uno diſce omnes*) "The Chancery, *ſays my Author*, is "the greateſt and higheſt Court, wherein the

"great

" great Frauds, and other Matters belonging to " Truſt and Equity, are determin'd; and neither the Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had managed that Court above twenty Years, nor Sir *Charles Porter*, who ſucceeded him, could anſwer the King's Intention: But Sir *Alexander Titton*, a Perſon detected of Forgery, not only at *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter*, but likewiſe fin'd by the Houſe of Lords in Parliament, muſt be brought out of Goal, and ſet on the higheſt Court of the Kingdom, to keep the King's Conſcience, tho' he wanted Law and Natural Capacity, as well as Honeſty and Courage, to diſcharge ſuch a Truſt, and had no other Quality to recommend him, beſides his being a Convert-Papiſt; that is, a Renegado to his Religion and his Country. He could not underſtand the Merit of a Cauſe of any Difficulty, and therefore never fail'd to give Sentence according to his Inclination, having no other Rule to lead him; and how he was inclin'd to all Proteſtants, appears from his Declarations on all Occaſions againſt 'em. He did not ſtick, on a Hearing, to declare that they were all Rogues, and that amongſt Forty Thouſand there was not one who was not a Rebel, a Traitor and a Villain; for this Reaſon he would not allow the Guardianſhip of a Child to the Proteſtant Mother, but gave it againſt the poſitive Words of the Law, to the Popiſh Relations; for this Cauſe he over-rul'd both the common Rules and Practice of the Courts, and the Laws of the Land, declaring in open Court, that the *Chancery* was above all Laws, that no Law could bound his Conſcience. After hearing a Cauſe between a Proteſtant and a Papiſt, he would often declare, that he would conſult a Divine before

" he gave a Decree; that is, he would have the " Opinion of a Popiſh Prieſt, his Chaplain, " educated in *Spain*, and furniſh'd with Diſtin- " ctions, to ſatisfy his Conſcience how far he " ſhould do Juſtice to Proteſtants. In ſhort, all " Offices, whether Military or Civil, were diſ- " pos'd of to a Set of the greateſt Villains in " the World: They were forc'd to rake into the " very Scum and Sink of the People, to find a " few to ſit on the Bench; Men without Free- " hold, without Senſe, and without Honeſty, " were made Sheriffs. There was not a Prote- " ſtant Sheriff in all *Ireland* in the Year 1687, " except one, ſuppos'd to be put in by Miſtake, " inſtead of a Catholick Name-ſake (*Charles* " *Hamilton* for *John*). The mean Employments " of an High or Petty Conſtable, a Goaler, &c. " were thought too good for Proteſtants, who " now had the Mortification to be at the Mercy " of a Company of illegal Officers, Sheriffs, " Juſtices and Juries, ſome of whoſe Fathers, or " near Relations, they had either hang'd for " Thieving, Robbing and Murthering, or kill'd " in the very Act of *Torying*."

ANOTHER thing they ſet themſelves about, was to diſſolve the Corporations, take away their Charters, and model them according to their own Mind: And this Way they thought the more neceſſary, becauſe, after the Rebellion in Forty One, the Papiſts were excluded by the Charters from the Freedom of voting in their Corporations, many of which had been procur'd, and ſome built by the Induſtry of the Proteſtants. Hereby the Proteſtants were ſecure of Parliament Men; but this Barrier was broke through, all the Corporations being diſſolv'd, and their Charters wreſted out of their Hands by *Quo Warranto*'s; and where new Charters were granted,

granted, they were fill'd up chiefly with Papiſts, and Men of deſperate Fortunes, a Clauſe being inſerted in every one of them, by which they were ſubjected to the abſolute Will of the King, the King's chief Governour having Power to put in and out whom he pleas'd, without giving any Reaſon, *&c.* So that the Corporations became now ſo entirely in the King's Power, *That he might*, ſays my Author, *as well name his Regiment of Guards a Free Parliament, as the Burgeſſes return'd by ſuch Elections*; and indeed Aldermen and Burgeſſes of the new Charters were above two Thirds Papiſts.

WHAT a Train of Calamities the Proteſtants ſuffer'd during the reſt of King *James*'s Tyranny, under ſuch Miniſters and Officers, is pretty well known; however, ſomething I ſhall ſay of them, and ſhall reduce them to four Heads, and juſt touch upon each; their Sufferings in their Liberties, Eſtates, Religion and Lives. To begin with their Liberties.

Civil Liberties taken away.

NO ſooner had they gotten Judges and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of Swearing, and ripping up what they had heard their Neighbours ſay of his Majeſty, whilſt Duke of *York*, eſpecially in the Time of the Popiſh Plot. The new Juſtices readily bound over the accus'd Proteſtants, and committed them without any Reaſon given in the Warrant; it was time enough to invent Reaſons againſt the next Aſſizes: And in this Caſe *Perjury* was grown ſo common, that if a Tenant ow'd his Proteſtant Landlord any Rent, he paid him by *ſwearing him into a Plot*: If a Papiſt had any Quarrel with his Proteſtant Neighbour, or ow'd him Money, he paid him with the ſame Coin: Many were indicted, fin'd and impriſon'd by theſe Contrivances; and not being able to

ſatisfy the King for their Fines, he ſeiz'd both their Bodies and Eſtates. The new Mayors were as Tyrannical in their Places as any of the reſt. Sir *Thomas Hacket*, Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*, among many brutiſh and barbarous Things he did, ſent his Warrant, and committed the Officers of *Chriſt-Church* to the Stocks, becauſe he fancied they did not make the Bells ring merrily enough for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, tho' that Church was without his Juriſdiction. At laſt it came to a general Seizure, and almoſt all the Proteſtant Gentlemen, without Pretence of Reaſon, Warrant, or Form of Law, were put in Goals under the Cuſtody of mean and barbarous Guards, whoſe very Captains had no better Education than that of Footmen or Cowherds; whoever pleas'd had the Power to commit Proteſtants; and if at any time they ask'd by what Authority they were committed, they were anſwer'd, *We have committed you, get out again as you can.*

Proteſtants by Fraud and Violence deprived of their Eſtates.

As for their Poſſeſſions and Eſtates, they had a Variety of Methods to cheat them out of them; their Arms, Cattle, Money, all were taken from them. In the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign the Proteſtant Militia were diſſolv'd; and tho' they had bought their own Arms, they were oblig'd to bring them into the Stores: There was, however, a conſiderable Quantity of Arms in ſeveral Places, eſpecially in *Dublin*; to deprive them of which, the Lord Deputy drew nine or ten Regiments thither, and filling the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horſe, he ſent the City Officers to ſignify to every Houſe, that if they did not immediately deliver up their Arms, they ſhould be left to the Mercy of the Soldiers, both as to Life and Goods. The Proteſtants looking upon this as a Threat-

a Threatning of a general Maſſacre, which they fear'd; and to avoid ſo terrible a Dragooning, were forc'd to comply. Afterwards came out a Proclamation, forbidding any Proteſtant to wear or keep a Sword, under Penalty of being counted Rebels or Traitors; and in the ſame manner they took away their Horſes, and indeed all they had. Their Expences were multiplied, their Trade ruin'd, their Houſes and Villages deſtroy'd by Robberies and Free-quarters; their Receipts and Rents ſtopt: The Popiſh Tenants were taught to anſwer, when their Landlords demanded Rent, *That they had ſpent what they had deſign'd for them, to fit themſelves for the King's Service*; and he was ſure to be repreſented as diſaffected, that did not ſit down with this Anſwer. And to make quicker Diſpatch, a general Plundering or Robbing was ſet on Foot; ſo that they ſcarce left a Proteſtant in *Ireland* a Cow or a Sheep: And it ſeems the Prieſts encourag'd this Trade, impoſing it as a Penance upon ſuch as came to them for Abſolution, to rob ſome of their Proteſtant Neighbours. Their real Eſtates had the ſame Fate; a Counterfeit Deed produc'd by a Catholick, would turn a Proteſtant Gentleman out of all he had; and at laſt, by a pretended Parliament, choſe in effect by the King himſelf (and which had little more to do, than, like a Parliament of *France*, confirm the King's Edicts) an Act of Attainder is paſt; by which all Proteſtants, whoſe Names they could find, of all Ages, Sexes or Degrees, are attainted of High Treaſon, and their Eſtates veſted in the King; which ſwept away what the Act of Repeal left.

'Tis eaſy to ſuppoſe what Violence would be offer'd to the Proteſtant Religion, when they treated with ſo much Barbarity the Profeſſors of

Proteſtant Religion in a great Meaſure ſuppreſs'd.

of it: King *James* indeed had ſtickled mightily for Liberty of Conſcience: But, ſays Dr. *King*, the Proteſtants found, that a Papiſt, whatever he profeſſes, is but an ill Guardian of Liberty of Conſcience; and that the ſame Religion that oblig'd the King of *Spain* to ſet up an Inquiſition, would not long endure the King of *England* to maintain Liberty. Some of the Papiſts would forwardly tell their Neighbours, that *Ireland* muſt be a Catholick Kingdom, and they haſtned as faſt as they could to make it ſo; ruining the Proteſtant Univerſity of *Dublin*, and Proteſtant Schools up and down the Kingdom; erecting popiſh Seminaries, converting the legal Maintenance of the proteſtant Clergy, to the Uſe of popiſh Prieſts, plundering and ſeizing their Churches in a rude and violent Manner. In Corporations the Mayors, or other Governours, with the Prieſts, went to the Churches, ſent for the Keys to the Sextons, and if they could not get the Keys, broke open the Doors, pull'd up the Seats, *&c.* and having ſaid Maſs in the Churches, declar'd them their own, that they were conſecrated Places, and that the King himſelf had nothing to do with them; and that to give them back to Hereticks were Sacrilege. In Country Places the Officers of the Army did the ſame. Thus *Chriſt*-Church in *Dublin* was ſeiz'd by *Lutrell* the Governour, and about twenty ſix more in the Dioceſs of *Dublin*; and when they had drove them into private Houſes for Worſhip, they moleſted them there, and at laſt forbid more than five Proteſtants to meet together under Pain of Death, which ſhut up the Churches and religious Aſſemblies thro' the Kingdom; and had King *James* return'd Victorious from the *Boyn*, it was reſolv'd they ſhould be open'd no more for the Proteſtants.

NOR was Life ſpar'd, tho' they did not think proper yet to make a general Slaughter as in Forty One: Many however were kill'd by the Soldiers, murder'd in their Houſes, executed by Martial Law, ſtarv'd in Jails, *&c.* It was made Death by a Proclamation for the Scholars of the College of *Dublin*, to meet and converſe together above two or three at a Time; and to ſhow what they deſign'd, had not Providence prevented, every Member of their ſham Parliament was order'd to return ſuch Proteſtant Gentlemen, as liv'd near him, or in the County or Borough for which he ſerv'd; and when they had made a large Collection of Names, they attainted them, and allow'd them not Time to come in, and put themſelves on Trial: 'Tis obſervable this Act left no room for the King to pardon after ſuch a Day, and yet was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd to ſee it till the Time limited for Pardon was paſt four Months. Life threatned as well as Liberty.

I'LL give a ſingle Inſtance, which may ſhow upon what Terms the Proteſtants ſtood for their Lives: Several Gentlemen kept their Horſes, and arm'd their Servants, in order to defend themſelves againſt the Rapparees or Plunderers, which was call'd, *Levying War againſt the King.* In the County of *Cork*, one Mr. *Brown* had been ſeen in a Company of Men that were endeavouring to make their Eſcape from the Plunderers, but left them and went Home; he was however for this brought before Judge *Dally*, who acquitted him as Innocent! Afterwards he was carried before Judge *Nugent*; and even he, as bad as he was, at firſt ſeem'd inclin'd to acquit him, till he had diſcours'd with King *James*, lately come over, and then by a corrupt Jury found him Guilty,

and

and condemn'd him to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd; and the Sentence was accordingly executed, no Intreaties being able to prevail with King *James* to pardon him: Which made many call to mind the bloody Executions in the *West* of *England*, and fear *Nugent* would act over again the infamous Part of *Jefferies*.

NAY, it seems they were for famishing the whole Body of Protestants, and the Methods they took would have done it effectually, had their Power lasted a little longer: If the Protestants had any Provisions of Bisket or Barrell'd Beef, *&c.* there was a general Search made for them; nor would they suffer them to buy either Bread or Drink in the City of *Dublin* at any Rate; twenty or thirty Soldiers stood constantly about every Bakehouse, and would not suffer a Protestant to come nigh: If they sent into the Country, and by Interest and a great Price got a Barrel of Wheat from a popish Farmer, it was seiz'd as it came to Town; and tho' there was Plenty of all Things, yet several protestant Families could not get a Loaf of Bread in a Week or Fortnight; so that the poor People began to be convinced it was more than a bare Threatning, which Sir *Robert Parker* and others blabb'd out in the Coffee-house, *viz. That they design'd to starve one half of the Protestants, and hang the other; and that it would never be well till this was done.*

IN *England* King *James* found his Affairs a little embarrass'd, his Parliament was not so tractable as he expected, notwithstanding his Endeavours to pack an Assembly to his Mind, by *Quo Warranto's*, Closetting, the Intriegues of the Lord Lieutenants, and Regulators; and therefore, after several Prorogations, he dissolves them *July* 2, 1687. and goes to work another Way,

Way, tampering with the Judges to set up his dispensing Power, since the Parliament could not be wrought upon to do it. To which purpose the King closets the old Judges, and questions them upon the Point, Whether they would maintain his Power, to dispense with the penal Laws and Test? The first Man the King sounds was Sir *Thomas Jones*, who boggled at it, and at last told the King he could not do it; whereupon the King answer'd, *He would have twelve Judges of his Mind:* To which Sir *Thomas* reply'd, *He might possibly have twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would scarce find twelve Lawyers to be so* *. He and several others that would not bend to the King's Will were remov'd, and a new Set introduc'd that were more at his Majesty's Devotion; as, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Edward Lutwych*, &c. These readily fall in with the Measures of the Court, and are prepar'd to support by their Authority such extravagant Positions, as had been deliver'd by fawning Courtiers, and in many fulsom Harangues from the Pulpit, *viz. That Monarchy and Hereditary Succession were by Divine Right; That the Legislature was vested in the Person of the Prince*; and, *That Power in the King to dispense with the Law, was Law*: Accordingly in a Case of Sir *Edward Hales* they gave it for Law,

The dispensing Power vindicated by the Judges.

"THAT the Kings of *England* are Sovereign "Princes.

"THAT the Laws of *England* are the King's "Laws.

"THAT therefore 'tis an incident, inseparable Prerogative in the Kings of *England*, as "in all other Sovereign Princes, to dispense

* *Vide* History of King *William*, Vol. I. p. 206.

with

" with penal Laws in particular Caſes, and upon " particular neceſſary Reaſons.

" THAT of thoſe Reaſons, and of thoſe Ne- " ceſſities, the King himſelf is the ſole Judge. " And,

" THAT this is not a Truſt inveſted in, or " granted to the King by the People, but is the " ancient Remain of the Sovereign Power and " Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, which " never yet was taken from them, nor can be."

THUS, adds the *Memoirs*, were we fallen under the greateſt Misfortune that could happen to a Nation; to have our Laws and Conſtitution trampled upon under Colour of Law; and thoſe very Men, whoſe Office 'twas to ſupport them, were the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince.

THIS grand Point being gain'd, tho' after a very ſorry Manner, the King proceeds, exerciſing his diſpenſing Power without Reſerve; the Papiſts are prefer'd to all Sorts of Truſts, ſome made Privy Counſellors, others Judges; ſome (as Sir *Richard Allibone*, and Mr. *Ingleby*) were by the King's Writ call'd to the Degree of Serjeants at Law, and gave Rings with this Motto, *A Rege Lex*.

IN the mean time the Intereſt of the Catholick Church, as they call it, is not forgotten: *Jeſuits*, and all Sorts of Eccleſiaſticks, like the Swarms of Flies, and Lice of *Egypt*, or Locuſts out of the bottomleſs Pit, cover the Land: Schools and Seminaries are erected at *London*, and in moſt conſiderable Towns in the Kingdom: Four Roman Catholick Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chappel, and diſpatched down under the Titles of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Functions in their reſpective

Popery bare-fac'd.

ſpective Dioceſſes: Their paſtoral Letters, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of *England*, were diſpers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer with publick Licence. The Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, and made no Scruple to tell the People, *That they hop'd in a little time to walk in Proceſſion thro'* Cheapſide. And that theſe Enemies might have the fuller Swing, and ſow their Tares without any Complaints by the Husbandmen, an Order was ſent to the proteſtant Biſhops to diſcharge all their inferior Clergy from preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity: But this unreaſonable Prohibition awaken'd, rather than diſcourag'd, the Zeal of many eminent Miniſters of the Church of *England*, and ſet them upon preaching in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and writing againſt *Rome*; whoſe Errors they expos'd in ſuch a Manner, as gall'd their Adverſaries, and made them gnaſh their Teeth for Vexation, which I mention to the Honour of thoſe learned and brave Men of the * Church of *England*, that made

Proteſtant Religion defended by the Church of *England* Divines with a commendable Zeal.

* It has, I know, been often caſt in the Teeth of the *Diſſenters*, that they were ſilent at this dangerous and critical Juncture; but I'm ſatisfied ſuch as impute it to Coolneſs, with reference to the Cauſe depending, an Indifference about Popery, or a cowardly Temporizing, very much wrong them. They were glad to ſee the Work in ſo good Hands, and the Controverſy managed to ſo good purpoſe by their proteſtant Brethren of the Church of *England*. They thought it but reaſonable to leave them to lay the Devil they had done ſo much, many of them, to raiſe; and rejoyced to ſee them ſo vigorouſly endeavour it; and beſides, it ſhould be remember'd that the *Diſſenters* were but juſt come out of Goals and Priſons; a little while ago they durſt ſcarce ride along the King's Highway, for fear of a Church of *England* Purſuivant; their Papers were rifled, Books and Goods plunder'd: And what Wonder it Men in ſuch Circumſtances were no great Writers? How ſhould they trace the popiſh Juglers thro' the Fathers and Councils, that had ſome of them few Books left, except the *Bible* and *Pilgrim's Progreſs*, &c.? But after all, there's too much Reaſon to ſay, The

An Apology for the Diſſenters for not writing more againſt Popery.

made so noble a Stand for their Religion in its greatest Danger. But this gave no small Offence, and Resolutions were taken to check these Advocates for the protestant Cause, and keep them under: To which purpose a new Court of Inquisition was erected, under the Name of an *Ecclesiastical Commission*, directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Rochester*, and Earl of *Sunderland*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, which impower'd them to exercise all Manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the fullest Manner. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* excus'd himself from the Beginning, as did the Bishop of *Rochester*, as soon as he understood it was levell'd against the Protestant Religion; so that *Jefferies* and the Bishop of *D——m*, &c. were left to do all the dirty Work themselves.

Dr. *Sharp* suspended by the High Commission

THE first Act of Authority (if so illegal a Court may pretend to Authority in any thing) was against the Bishop of *London*: Dr. *Sharp*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, had taken the Freedom to vindicate the Protestant Religion, and speak against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*: This was interpreted at Court, an Endeavour to beget in the Minds of the Hearers

The Church of England *neither desired nor would accept their Help.* Mr. *Hanmer*, a learned Dissenter, and well skill'd in Antiquity, had prepar'd a Discourse against the whole System of Popery, which was refus'd License, as was Mr. *Pendlebury*'s Discourse against Transubstantiation; tho' Dr. *Tillotson* recommended it, and us'd his Endeavours to get it printed. Nay, it is said it was offer'd that Mr. *Baxter* should produce a Piece against Popery every Month, if a Licence might be had; but this Motion was rejected with Scorn, and indeed every thing undertaken by a Dissenter blown upon: So that all Things consider'd, 'tis less Difficulty to apologize for the Dissenters in this Matter, than to defend the Honour of some of their Brethren.

an ill Opinion of the King and his Government; and therefore to rebuke the Doctor, and terrify others, the King ſends an expreſs Order to the Biſhop of *London* to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp*: The Biſhop excuſes himſelf, it being againſt Law; for which he was ſuſpended himſelf by the High Commiſſion, as was alſo Dr. *Sharp*.

The Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*.

BUT yet all was not right, the King ſaw his Authority diſputed even by the Divines of the Church of *England*, that had formerly talk'd ſo loudly for Paſſive-Obedience: He found his Doctors could make no great Progreſs in Converting, therefore reſolves upon more forcible Arguments; to which End, he draws together fourteen or fifteen thouſand of his Troops, and forms a Camp at *Hounſlow-Heath*, erecting a Chapel at his Head Quarters, where Maſs was ſaid every Day; and now every Body expected Swords and Muskets muſt ſerve inſtead of Scripture and Syllogiſms; which ſome the rather fear'd, becauſe the *French* King had lately revok'd the Edict of *Nantz*, and ſet upon the Converſion of his *Hugonot* Subjects by Dragooning, thereby ſhowing the Way to his Brother in *England*; and it ſeems by a Speech made to him at *Verſailes* by a *French* Biſhop (which was printed by King *Lewis*'s Authority, and the Tranſlation allow'd by King *James* to go among his Subjects) it was expected he ſhould aſſiſt in the ſame Work here. The Speech-maker having magnify'd the King for his Zeal, in ſuppreſſing the Proteſtant Religion in his Kingdom, tells his Majeſty, *That* England *offer'd him one of the moſt Glorious Occaſions he could wiſh for, and that the King of* England *wanted nothing but the Support of his Arms to ſettle the Catholick Religion*: And indeed it was *Engliſh* Arms and *French* Arms together that they truſted to.

IN the latter End of the Year 1686. the Earl of *Caſtlemain* is ſent to *Rome*, as Extraordinary Ambaſſador, with Inſtructions to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the Holy See; tho' 'tis ſaid the politick Father *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Embaſſy but coldly, and pitied King *James*'s Raſhneſs and haſty Zeal, apprehending he drove too furiouſly.

K. *James*'s Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

ABOUT the ſame time the King put forth his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience; the Deſign of which was, under this ſpecious Pretence, to get his diſpenſing Power more generally own'd and receiv'd; he firſt ſignify'd to his Council, *March* 18, 1686-7. that it was his Opinion, That Conſcience was not to be forc'd, and that no Man ſhould ſuffer for Conſcience-ſake; and in purſuit of this, *April* 4, 1687. he publiſh'd his Declaration, wherein he diſpenſes with the penal Laws and Teſts, and this by his abſolute Authority, againſt ſeveral Acts of Parliament. 'Tis known, the Diſſenters not only made uſe of the Liberty this gave them, but ſeveral of them thank'd the King for it in their Addreſſes, which ſince has been turn'd to their Reproach, but generally by ſuch as have little conſider'd the Matter. Many of them met for Religious Worſhip in private Aſſemblies before the Liberty; and I ſuppoſe none will ſay they might not as well do it afterwards: They had a natural Right to their Liberty, and who could blame them for uſing it when offer'd? They ſaw their Priſons open'd, their Fetters broke, and the unmerciful Hands that had ſo long tore them, tied up: They could walk the Streets, ſit in their own Houſes, and go to the Houſe of God, without being terrified with Eccleſiaſtical Bailiffs; and what Wonder they were pleas'd to part with their Chains? And if ſome of them

An Apology for the Diſſenters, who addreſs'd on that Occaſion.

ex-

exceeded in their Compliments to the King on this Occaſion, it muſt be conſider'd that Oppreſſion will make a wiſe Man mad. Their Joy was like the Tranſports of one deliver'd from the Rack, or brought out of a Dungeon into a free Air and the open Sun-ſhine: Moſt of them were aware of the *Snake in the Graſs*, as much as any of their Neighbours; and ſeveral never addreſs'd at all, only quietly enjoy'd their Liberty, and all of them chearfully concurr'd with their Brethren (when once they were awaken'd out of their Security) in oppoſing the common Deſtruction, which they had foreſeen, and would have guarded againſt at a greater Diſtance, but could not be heard; and if Recrimination would ſignify any thing, it may be ſaid, that many of the Church Party are in the ſame Condemnation; the Biſhops of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and St. *Davids*, prevail'd with their Clergy to compliment his Majeſty with Addreſſes of Thanks for his gracious Declaration: Not to mention their Addreſſes for diſſolving a Parliament in the former Reign, for no other Fault but endeavouring to ſcreen the Nation from imminent Ruine, and the famous Addreſſes of Abhorrence; ſo that if ſome of the Diſſenters were blameable in this Matter, others are involv'd in the ſame Guilt; and ſurely it ill becomes thoſe to judge 'em, who have done the ſame Things themſelves, and that without half ſo much Temptation: It was other Folks that addreſs'd the King into the Exerciſe of a diſpenſing Power; the Diſſenters expreſs'd their Thankfulneſs (unduely, it may be, and unſeaſonably ſome of them) that he us'd it to ſave them from their Oppreſſions, and this is made an unpardonable Crime, even by ſuch as cry up

the Prerogative extravagantly upon all other Occaſions, except when employ'd in Favour of the Diſſenters.

Proceedings againſt *Cambridge* and *Oxford.*

THE King having thus pretty well fix'd, as he thought, the great Rule of his future Government, *Arbitrary Power*; he goes on to exerciſe it towards both Univerſities: He ſends a Mandate to *Cambridge* to admit one *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Maſter of Arts, without taking the uſual Oaths, his Majeſty having diſpens'd with *Francis* for not having that neceſſary Qualification: The Vice-Chancellor, and others of the Body, repreſent to his Majeſty the Oaths they were under, not to admit any to Degrees without legal Qualifications; and they humbly hop'd his Majeſty would not force them to wilful Perjury. But this Remonſtrance avail'd nothing, the Vice-Chancellor was ſuſpended by the High Commiſſion Court for Diſobedience to the King's Commands, as *Jefferies* ſignify'd to him when he paſs'd the Sentence.

NEXT the Storm broke out upon *Oxford*: The Preſident of *Magdalen* College being dead, the King by his Mandate requir'd them to chuſe one *Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, and that had promis'd to declare himſelf a Papiſt; which they could not do without deliberate Perjury, *Farmer* not being qualified according to the Statutes of their College, which they had ſworn to obſerve. Accordingly they repreſent their Caſe to the King, but in vain; and afterwards give their Reaſons more fully to the High Commiſſion, before whom they were cited. One of the Fellows, Dr. *Fairfax*, was ſo bold as to except againſt the Authority of the Court, alledging, That the Matter did not lie in that Court, but *Weſtminſter-Hall*: To which

Jefferies

Jefferies reply'd, *He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law:* Whereupon the Doctor added, *He desir'd to know by what Authority they sat?* Which put *Jefferies* into so great a Passion, that he cry'd out, *What Commission have you to be so impudent in Court? This Man ought to keep in a dark Room; why do you suffer him without a Guardian?* &c. After another Hearing of the Matter, the Vice-President Dr. *Aldworth*, with Dr. *Fairfax*, was suspended; and Dr. *Hough*, whom they had chosen President, depriv'd of his Presidentship; and the Fellows of the College were order'd to see the Sentence executed, and fix'd to the Gates of their College; which they neglecting to do, were cited before the Commissioners at *Whitehall:* But the Court being asham'd of *Farmer*, the King by a fresh Mandate orders them to chuse Dr. *Parker*, the Bishop of *Oxford*, one devoted to the Court Interest; but the Fellows were under the same Necessity, either of being perjur'd, or disobeying the King, which they represent to him, upon his Majesty's coming to *Oxford* in Person, on their Knees; beseeching him to extend the same Tenderness to them, he did to all the other of his Subjects. The King rages at this, and expresses his Resentment in the following Terms:

YE have been a stubborn and turbulent College; I have known you to be so these twenty six Years; you have affronted me in this ——— *Is this your Church of* England *Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of* England *Men in such a Business; go home and shew your selves good Members of the Church of* England ——— *Get you gone* ——— *Know I am your King, and will be obey'd. Go and admit the Bishop of* Oxford *Head, Principal, what do you call it, of your College* (one

that ſtood by ſaid, Preſident) *I mean Preſident of the College; let them that refuſe it look to it, They ſhall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Power.*

BUT neither the King's Threats, nor his Agents could work upon the College to a Submiſſion; ſo that at laſt Dr. *Hough* and twenty five Fellows were ſuſpended, and declar'd uncapable of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice or Promotion. And thus did King *James*, to ſerve Mother-Church, diſpenſe not only with Laws, but Oaths.

Biſhops ſent to the *Tower*.

BUT that which gave the loudeſt and moſt effectual Alarm to the Nation, was the impriſoning Seven Biſhops in the *Tower*: The King thought fit to renew his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, and by an Order of Council commanded it to be read in all Churches and Chapels at the Time of Divine Service; and the Biſhops were oblig'd to diſtribute the Declarations, and cauſe them to be read: Several of the Biſhops comply'd, and 'tis ſaid the Biſhop of *Durham* ſuſpended thirty Miniſters of his Dioceſs for not reading the Declaration; But ſeveral refus'd, looking upon the Matter of the Declaration illegal; the Foot upon which it ſtood, being a Power to diſpenſe with all ſorts of Laws, which is inconſiſtent with the End in making them. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Sancroft*, and ſix more, drew up a Petition to the King, in which they modeſtly repreſented, *That their Non-Compliance did not proceed from want of Loyalty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs towards Diſſenters: In relation to whom, they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper as ſhould be thought fit, when the Matter ſhould be conſider'd in Parliament and Convocation; but they could not do it, chiefly becauſe the Declaration was founded upon ſuch a*

Power

Power as had often been declar'd illegal in Parliament, particularly in the Years 1662 and 1672, and in the Beginning of his Majesty's Reign. The King was angry at this, tells them he did not expect it from the Church of *England*, especially from some of them; and after *Jefferies* had hector'd them before the Council, they were committed to the *Tower* *; and some time after were brought to their Trial, and acquitted, to the Mortification of the Court, and the no less Rejoycing of the Protestants. The Shouts of the People reach'd the Soldiers at *Hounslow-Heath*, and were so ecchoʼd by them, that the King hearing the Acclamations, sent to know what was the Matter: The Earl of *Haversham* told him, *Nothing but the Soldiers Shouting upon the Bishops being acquitted; And do you call that nothing?* says the King.

Popery thrives apace, and spreads thro' the Nation.

EVERY Body will imagine, that under the Encouragement of so zealous a Patron, the Priests of the Church of *Rome* would bestir themselves, and that no Endeavours would be omitted to propagate their Faith: They fill the Country and City with their Catechisms and Manuals of Devotion, and with a great deal of Cunning represent their Doctrines to the World, glossing them over with so much Art, that a vulgar Eye could scarce distinguish them: In the mean time the grosser Errors were conceal'd from the People, and the Cloven Foot kept out of Sight; Popish Schools abound up and down the Kingdom; *Magdalen*-College is given into their Hands, Dr. *Gifford* of the Faculty of *Paris* being made President; an House is provided for entertaining two hundred popish Orphans, under the Direction of the Benedictine Monks of St. *James*; several are encourag'd to turn Papists,

* *June* 29, 1688.

by a weekly Allowance paid them for that purpoſe; Father *Petre* was deſign'd to be Archbiſhop of *York*; and indeed, Popery, tho' it utterly diſabled according to Law, was now the only Step to Preferment. The King cloſets ſeveral Noblemen, and deals with them about their Converſion; the Marquis of *Halifax* and Lords *Dorſet* and *Lumley* receiv'd Letters from an unknown Hand, threatning ſudden Death, unleſs they made Peace with God and the King, by reconciling themſelves to the *Roman* Catholick Church.

NOR were the King's Intentions any longer diſſembled; Things were now acted above board, inſomuch that the Pope's Nuntio makes his publick Entry thro' the Streets of *London* at Noonday in great Pomp, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and attended by a Flock of Prieſts and Monks, in the Habits of their reſpective Orders. The Duke of *Somerſet* was appointed by the King to attend the Nuntio to his Audience; but deſir'd his Majeſty to excuſe him from countenancing any Act the Law of the Land made criminal; upon which he loſt his Place of Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber: Yet, adds Dr. *Kennet*, a Biſhop of the Church *, or rather of the Court, is ſaid to have made no Scruple in that Matter, but to have made up part part of the Nuntio's Train.

Juſt Suſpicions of the Queen's great Belly.

BUT notwithſtanding all this, there was one Allay in their Comfort, the King was growing into Years, and had no Children but two Daughters, married to Proteſtant Princes, from neither of whom could they expect any great Matters; ſo that nothing in the World was wanting ſo much as a Son, that might inherit his Majeſty's Crown with his Religion and Virtues; without this, they conſider'd they had but a ſort of a

* Biſhop of D——m.

Gourd

Gourd to rejoyce in, which would ſoon be ſmitten, and then their Hopes periſh. Well, what muſt be done? The Queen had left off Child-bearing for ſeveral Years, and was now become very infirm; however, a Child they muſt have, and a Son too, or it would not ſerve their Turn. To which purpoſe a great deal of Application is made to the Saints for Aſſiſtance; to St. *Winifred* here in *England*, and to the Lady of *Loretto*, whom the Queen's Mother, the Dutcheſs of *Modena*, had oblig'd with a very handſome Preſent: And behold the good Effect! Shortly the News flies about the Kingdom like Lightning, that the Queen's with Child, and out comes a Proclamation for a General Thankſgiving, the Biſhop of *Durham*, &c. having prepar'd a Form ſuitable to the Occaſion; and in due time the Queen is deliver'd of a Prince, as many of the Papiſts confidently ſaid it † would be, long before it was born; which was publickly chriſten'd according to the Manner of the Church of *Rome*; the Pope, repreſented by his Nuntio, ſtanding Godfather. If the Papiſts had ever been guilty of Impoſture and Forgery, there had been all the Reaſon in the World to ſuſpect them upon this Occaſion; and indeed there were ſo many Circumſtances of Suſpicion relating to the Queen's Conception, Breeding and

* In an Addreſs from *Carliſle*, ſaid to be penn'd by a Jeſuit, they expreſs their Confidence in this Matter: Some Paſſages of the Addreſs being very peculiar, are worth reciting. They thank his Majeſty for his Royal Army, as the Honour and Safety of the Nation; they promiſe his Majeſty to chuſe ſuch Members, when he ſhould call a Parliament, as would certainly concur with his Majeſty in taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt; and not hazard the Election of any Perſon, who had any ways declar'd in favour of thoſe Canibal Laws: Surely, ſay they, theſe Men that oppoſe your Majeſty in ſo gracious a Work, do not conſider what a Sovereign Prince in his Royal Power can do; a Work which Heaven ſmiles upon, and will reward with no leſs Bleſſing than a Prince of *Wales*.

Delivery,

Delivery, that moſt look'd upon the whole as a Piece of Miſmanagement, a pious, or rather impious Fraud, to ſet aſide the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark*, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and a faſt Effort to ruin the Proteſtant Religion. 'Tis indeed amazing, that no more Care ſhould be taken to ſatisfy the Nation in this, had the Queen's great Belly been real, conſidering their Jealouſies, and that Lampoons flew about the Kingdom, and even *Whitehall*, ridiculing it. 'Twas confidently affirm'd, the Queen's Breaſts never ſwell'd during the Time of her pretended Pregnancy; that ſhe had no Milk in them; no fit Perſon was ever allow'd to feel the Child ſtir in her Womb; during the four laſt Months, when ſhe chang'd her Linnen, ſhe always withdrew from her Chamber with two or three *Italian* Women, and retir'd into a private Room, and would not ſuffer any of the Proteſtant Ladies to ſee her ſhift herſelf, contrary to her former Cuſtom. When the Time drew near for the Queen to be deliver'd, Care was taken to adviſe the Princeſs of *Denmark*, the late Queen *Anne*, to go to the *Bath*: The Place of her Majeſty's Lying-in was not known till *Saturday* Night, and ſhe in Travail, as they tell us, the next Morning. The Time of her Travail was between Nine and Ten, when many of the Proteſtant Ladies were at Church. In the Room was a private Door, within the Rail of the Bed, thro' which the aſſiſting Matrons paſs'd and repaſs'd, the Curtains all the while drawn about the Queen's Bed; ſo that tho' ſome Proteſtant Lords and Ladies were in the Room, they ſaw nothing that paſs'd. After a very ſhort Labour, a Child was taken out of the Bed, and carried thro' the Privy-Door into the next Room, without ever crying when it came into the World: The King,

after

after a little time, follows into the private Apartment, and then ſends word to the Lords of the Council, that a Prince was born: Of whom? is the Queſtion. If this, and a great deal more that is urg'd in the preſent Argument, be true, as 'tis related by ſundry Hiſtorians of good Credit, they muſt be more than ordinarily complaiſant, that can believe he was born of the Queen; tho', however that be, I am ſenſible it does not at all concern the Diſputes that have been rais'd about the Succeſſion: Either he was the Queen's Son, or not; if not, he is excluded as an Impoſtor; if he be, he is excluded as a Papiſt; his Blood is tainted, his Birth and Education make him utterly unfit to govern a Proteſtant Nation, and our wiſe and good Laws make him uncapable.

THE Nation being reduc'd to this Extremity, the Fence of Law broken down, the King's Will ſet up inſtead of Acts of Parliament, and made virtually all Law, of which Popiſh Judges were made the Executors; an illegal Army kept up, daily augmented with *Iriſh* Cut-throats, that came over in Shoals to murder the Proteſtants, and take Poſſeſſion of the Land. In this Diſtreſs and Common Calamity, in which all Sorts of Proteſtants ſaw themſelves involv'd, when juſt ſinking and periſhing, their Eyes are directed to the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Intereſt in the Crown, encourag'd their Expectations from him. Accordingly they preſent a *Memorial* to that Prince and his Royal Conſort, ſetting forth in moving Terms the Grievances of the Nation, the Ruin that hung over their Heads, beſeeching his Aſſiſtance and timely Succour, which he generouſly undertakes, equips a Fleet, and lands at *Torbay*, *November* 5, 1688. 'Tis certain, nothing but Neceſſity could engage his Highneſs in this Undertaking.

The Nation in their Extremity fly to the Prince of *Orange* for Help.

dertaking. Some that ſaw what Courſe King *James* would ſteer, mov'd him immediately after the Death of King *Charles* II. to interpoſe. The Elector of *Brandenburg* particularly urg'd him to this, as we are told, and offer'd him his Aſſiſtance: But the Prince anſwer'd, *He would never make any Attempt againſt his Father-in-Law without an abſolute Neceſſity*; but at the ſame time proteſted, *That if he could not otherwiſe prevent the Subverſion of the Laws and Religion of* England, *he would undertake the Voyage, tho' he ſhould be oblig'd to embark in a Fiſherboat.* This abſolute Neceſſity now appear'd, and determin'd the incomparable Hero for this Expedition, which it pleas'd God ſo far to own and proſper, that in a little time, and without much Blood, he found his Way to the *Engliſh* Throne, and became the Deliverer of *Britain*, of *Europe*, and the Ornament and Defence of the Proteſtant Religion thro' the World. And here, I doubt not, the Reader will agree with me, to ſet up an *Ebenezer*: Behold the Preparations of ſeveral Ages daſh'd in pieces at once! Here's Life in the midſt of Death! A Plank thrown out after a moſt deſperate Wreck! A Deliverance is wrought for us ſo ſeaſonable, ſo ſurprizing, as may deſerve to introduce a new *Epocha* into our Account. The Glorious Year of Eighty Eight ſhould never be forgotten by *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants. *Hitherto the Lord has help'd us.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Opposition to King William's *Government. The Rise of Jacobite Plots. Assassination Plot. Measures entr'd into to restore King* James. *The* French *Fleet sent to Sea for that Purpose, and beaten by the* English *at* La Hogue. *The Invasion and Assassination Plot renew'd. Sundry other Plots. The Death of King* James, *and the Pretender proclaim'd King of* England *by the* French *King. King* William's *Death, and the Triumphs of the Jacobites thereupon.*

Opposition to K. *William's* Government.

THE next Reign, one would have thought, must have been a continual Jubilee; and that the grateful *Britons* would have been employ'd in resounding their *Hosanna Magna* (as the *Jews* call'd their Song on the last Day of the Feast of Tabernacles) first to their God, the Author, and then to their Prince, the Instrument of their Salvation: But it can't be denied nor dissembled, that there was a Race of *Monsters*, as one may call 'em, that soon forgot all that was done; despis'd their Deliverance; curs'd their Deliverer; embarrass'd his Government; and obstructed the excellent Designs he had

had form'd for the Good of his Country, and the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion: And ſuch was his Zeal, ſo intent was his great Soul upon the publick Welfare, and yet ſo ſucceſsful theſe ſpiteful Men in oppoſing him, that the Diſappointment he met with prey'd upon his Spirits; and 'tis thought, more than any thing, waſted his invaluable Life.

BUT beſides the more indirect Methods of annoying the Government, and affronting this Great Hero at the Head of it, ſeveral Attempts were made againſt him in a more violent Way; of which ſomething, tho' very briefly, muſt here be ſaid.

THO' King *James* had done all that could be expected from a popiſh Bigot, to render his Government intolerable to a Free People; had moſt groſly violated his Coronation Oath, as well as his own voluntary ſolemn Promiſes; had forc'd the Nation to take up Arms in the neceſſary Defence of themſelves, their Religion and Poſterity, againſt thoſe that had vow'd their Deſtruction; tho' he had forfeited the Crown, abdicated the Throne, and fled into *France*, yet he ſtill kept up his Pretenſions and Hopes, and left a Party among us that were continually projecting his Reſtoration; and theſe not only Men of his own Religion, but even Proteſtants were confederate with them, and join in all the baſe and vile Meaſures imaginable to diſturb and undermine that happy Government, that Providence had bleſs'd the Nation with. Hence they proceed with unwearied Malice from Plot to Plot, during the moſt of King *William*'s Reign, not boggling even at Aſſaſſination and Murder.

Riſe of Jacobite Plots.

A Pamphlet of that Time, ſpeaking of the Jacobite Plots that were every now and then break-

breaking out, gives this Account of them, tracing them to their Original. "The first "Step, says the Author, was the disaffected "Clergy's writing against taking the new Oaths "to their Majesties, and buzzing into the Ears "of their Votaries the Unlawfulness of those "Oaths, and the continuing Right of King "*James* to the Crown. The next Step was, "their cheating the World and their own Con-"sciences with the ridiculous Distinction of "taking the Oaths to a King *de Facto*, and not "*de Jure*; which implied, that their Majesties "were not rightful King and Queen of *England*, "but Usurpers: To further the same Design, "they publish the *History of Passive-Obedience*, "which was handed about in Triumph among "the Party. In this Pamphlet were muster'd "a great many Expressions of *English* Divines, "both ancient and modern, tho' most of the "Citations were far wide of the Question. The "next Engine was, the happy Result of a kind "of Oeconomick Council of the whole Party: "The Liturgy of the Church of *England* must "be laid aside, and a new one is calculated for "the Meridian of King *James*'s tottering For-"tune. In this new Liturgy they pray'd thus: "*Restore us again the Publick Worship of thy Name, "the Reverend Administration of thy Sacraments; "raise up the former Governour both in Church and "State, that we may be no longer without King, "without Priest, and without God in the World,* "&c. There were above Ten Thousand of "this new Liturgy dispers'd among the Party, "which they us'd in their Cabals, laying aside "a great Part, and sometimes all the old Li-"turgy. Many of the Club were detach'd up "and down to persuade monied People, that "wish'd well to the Cause, to contribute to it,

"and

" and particularly for the maintaining King " *James*'s caſhier'd Officers. King *William* be- " ing neceſſarily abſent in *Ireland*, and the Na- " tion deſtitute of Forces in a great Meaſure, " the Plotters thought this a good Time to put " their Deſigns in Execution; and in order to " it, at one of their general Meetings in *Lon-* " *don*, it was concluded to preſent a Memorial " in the Name of the loyal and diſtreſs'd Sub- " jects of *England* (for ſo they nam'd themſelves) " to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; humbly be- " ſeeching him, out of his unparallell'd Good- " neſs, and for the Affection he always bore to " oppreſs'd Virtue, that he would aſſiſt them in " reſtoring their Lawful King, his ancient Ally " and Confederate, to his Throne, and in break- " ing the Yoke of Uſurpation, under which theſe " Three Nations were at this Time ſo heavily " groaning."

NOR were they more ready to ask Help of this Patron of the Oppreſs'd, under which Character they addreſs him, than he was to promiſe it; ſo that a conſtant Correſpondence was kept up between the *French* Court and the *Engliſh* Jacobites, and they were fed with Hopes from Time to Time of ſuch powerful Succours from thence, as would effectually do their Work: However, War being uncertain, and the Preparations for it tedious, as they found, they reſolve upon another Courſe, which they hop'd might be more ſpeedy and more effectual, and that was to aſſaſſinate King *William*, which was to be undertaken and perpetrated beyond Sea: The Inſtruments of this helliſh Fact were *Granville* and *Dumont*, who deſign'd to have done it while the King was at *Loo*; but miſſing their Opportunity, they follow'd his Majeſty to his Camp in *Flanders*, from whence *Gran-*

ville

ville return'd to the *French* Army, and *Dumont*, according to Orders given him, entred into the Confederate Army, that he might take his Opportunity, when his Majeſty went to viſit the Grand Guard on the Lines, to ſhoot him in the Back, and then make his Eſcape to a Body of Horſe that *Granville* and Colonel *Parker*, the chief Contriver of this bloody Deſign, ſhould have in Readineſs to carry him off. But Providence took Care of the Preſervation of *Europe* (to uſe the Words of a late Hiſtorian) that ſo viſibly depended upon his Majeſty's ſingle Life: Whether *Dumont*'s Heart fail'd him, or his Confederates deſerted him, or whatever elſe was the reſtraining Cauſe, he gave over for this Year the accurs'd Project.

England threatned with an Invaſion, and the *French* Fleet burnt at *La Hogue*, 1692.

IN the mean time Preparations are made for an Invaſion from *France*. *Lunt*, who had been employ'd to diſperſe King *James*'s Commiſſions, and by the *Lancaſhire* Papiſts to buy Arms, and liſt Men, was ſent in *November* into *France*, to acquaint King *James* they were in a Condition to receive him; and therefore deſired him to inform them when his Affairs would permit him to make a Deſcent into this Kingdom: He return'd in *December* with Anſwer, *That the King would be in* England *next Spring*; and afterwards Colonel *Parker* is ſent to acquaint the Jacobites here, *That their old Maſter had now obtain'd of the Moſt Chriſtian King Thirty Thouſand effective Men, which he* (King *James*) *would be at the Head of in the Spring*; *and if theſe were not ſufficient to reduce his Rebel Subjects*, France *would ſpare him Thirty Thouſand more*. In Purſuit of theſe Meaſures, King *James* ſent over his Declarations, ſetting forth his Right, inciting People to joyn him at his Landing, threatning ſuch as oppoſed him; and, which was more to the purpoſe, the

French King put to Sea a powerful Fleet, engag'd the *Engliſh*, but was beaten, and moſt of their beſt Ships burnt at *La Hogue*, *May* 23, 1692.

THIS Diſappointment very ſenſibly ſtruck the Jacobites, as it did their Maſter, who thereupon wrote a Letter of Condolence and Lamentation to the *French* King, telling him, *That he had hitherto with ſome Conſtancy ſupported the Weight of all his Misfortunes, ſo long as himſelf was the only Sufferer; but he acknowledged this laſt Diſaſter utterly overwhelm'd him, in relation to what concern'd his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, thro' the great Loſs that had befallen his Fleet: That he knew too well that it was his own unlucky Star that had drawn this Misfortune upon his Forces, always Victorious, but when they fought for his Intereſts: Therefore he intreated his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to concern himſelf no longer with one ſo unfortunate as himſelf, but permit him to retire with his Family to ſome Corner of the World, where he might ceaſe to obſtruct the uſual Courſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Proſperities and Conqueſts.* But the *French* Monarch, conſtant only in ſuch Service as this, promis'd never to abandon him; and he found his Party in *England* ſtill ready to encourage and aſſiſt him in any further Attempts.

The Aſſaſſination-Plot renew'd.

I ſhall only take Notice of one Effort more, which indeed was their main, and in a manner, laſt Effort, that was any thing threatning. In 1696. they renew the double Plot of invading the Nation, and murdering the King: Several Conſultations are held by the Ring-Leaders of the Party for the Management of their Affairs, particularly one in *May*, 1695. at the *Old King's Head Tavern* in *Leadenhall-Street*, *London*; where met the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, Sir *John Friend*, Sir *William Perkins*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Charnock*, Capt. *Porter*, Mr. *Cook*, and

and Mr. *Goodman*. There they conſulted the beſt Way to reſtore the late King; and all agreed, That the moſt proper Method was, to ſend a ſpecial Meſſenger to his Majeſty, and deſire him to procure of the *French* King Ten Thouſand Men, *viz.* One Thouſand Horſe, as many Dragoons, and Eight Thouſand Foot. Mr. *Charnock* was the Perſon they pitch'd on to manage this Affair; who ſaid, *He would not go on a fooliſh Errand; and therefore would know what the Company would do, if Foreign Forces could be procur'd?* Whereupon they all unanimouſly promis'd, That if King *James* would come over with ſuch a Number of Men as was deſir'd, they would meet him at the Head of Two Thouſand Horſe, wherever he would appoint them. At the latter End of *June* they had another Meeting; where, after many Diſcourſes upon the Subject, Mr. *Charnock* receiv'd a further Confirmation of their Reſolutions, and thereupon took his Journey into *France*.

The Conſpirators get a Commiſſion from King *James* to murder K. *William*.

THE Invaſion being thus promoted, that the Aſſaſſination might keep pace with it, Care was taken to procure a Commiſſion to the Conſpirators to ſeize the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, who alledge that nothing of that Kind could be attempted, without a Commiſſion from King *James*. This, it ſeems, was their Scruple; which Capt. *Porter* and Mr. *Goodman* communicated to Sir *George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and upon his Departure for *France*, telling him what Difficulties they labour'd under, for want of a Commiſſion; and that a longer Delay of ſending it over would certainly put a Stop to the Affair. Sir *George* not only approves, but commends the Deſign (of Aſſaſſinating the King); and that ſuch a hopeful Project might not miſcarry, promiſes to uſe all his

Intereſt at *St. Germains*, that the Commiſſion might no longer be wanting. The Beginning of *Auguſt*, 1695. brings Mr. *Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, That the King of *France* was not in a Condition to ſpare King *James* ſo many Men; which being communicated to the Party, the Deſign was laid aſide till Winter.

BUT notwithſtanding this poſitive Anſwer, the *French* at the ſame time were taking ſuch Meaſures as might ſuit with the Jacobite Requeſt, tho' they durſt not truſt them with the Secret: Nay, not King *James* himſelf, till a Squadron of Men of War, and near Four Hundred Tranſport-Ships were fitted; and the *French* Army conſiſting of thirty Batallions were ready to Embark, and Money and Directions ſent his Majeſty to go on Board and take Poſſeſſion of *England*.

Sir *George Barclay* comes from *France* with K. *James*'s Commiſſion, and to ſet forward the Aſſaſſination

IN *October*, 1695. Sir *George Barclay*, who had formerly been a General Officer, and was then in *France* an Officer in King *James*'s Guards, came over into *England*, and brought with him the Commiſſion mention'd before from the late King, to attack and ſeize the Prince of *Orange* in his Winter Quarters, or levy War upon the Prince of *Orange* and all his Adherents. And with him, and about the ſame Time, two and twenty more of King *James*'s Guards and Officers who had all Inſtructions to obey the Orders of Sir *George*, came alſo into *England*.

SIR *George Barclay* and his Men being arriv'd at *London*, they endeavour to ſtrengthen their Party by the Addition of Major *Lowick*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Bertram*, Mr. *Rookwood*, Mr. *La-Rue*, Mr. *Goodman*, Captain *Porter*, *Chambers*, *Durant*, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes* and *Waugh*; ſome of which were engag'd in the Aſſaſſination

the

the Year before. Thoſe that came from *France* knew not the Particulars of what they were ſent about, being kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay*'s Orders; but thoſe in *England* were privy to the whole Deſign: And tho' ſome of them ſtartled at its firſt being propos'd to them, yet the Authority of King *James*'s Commiſſion, and their imaginary Proſpects of large Rewards at his Return, made them conſent to hazard their Lives in it. Several Conſultations were held, and ſeveral Ways propos'd to effect what they aim'd at: Some were for ſeizing his Majeſty, and carrying him alive into *France*; and to that Purpoſe a Feint was made, that a Caſtle on the Sea-ſide was ſecur'd to detain the King till a Ship was ready to tranſport him over, but the more wicked among them, that underſtood what was meant by Seizing the Prince of *Orange*'s Perſon, laugh'd at this as a meer Chimera: Others propos'd to kill his Majeſty at *Kenſington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the Dead of the Night; but this, upon weighing the Difficulties, was wholly found impracticable: Others again were for murdering the King, as he came on Sunday to St. *James*'s Chapel; for which Purpoſe forty Men well arm'd were to attack his Majeſty's Guards, (which, before the Diſcovery of the Plot, did not exceed twenty five) whilſt ſix Men on Foot ſhould ſhut *Hide-Park* Gate, and the reſt aſſaſſinate his Majeſty. It was propos'd alſo to kill the Coach-Horſes, as they were entring into the *Park*; that the Paſſage being ſtopt, the Guards might not be able to come up till the Aſſaſſins had done their Work. Another Propoſal was to murder the King as he return'd from Hunting, in a narrow Lane by a Wood-ſide near *Richmond*, leading to the *Thames*, on the other

Several Propoſals to kill the King.

Side of the Water, about a hundred and fifty Paces long, in which there is a Gate, that, when ſhut, hinders Coaches and Horſes from coming that Way. One of the Conſpirators was ſent to view this Ground, and another to ſurvey the Land above-mention'd; but Sir *George Barclay*, the chief Director of this wicked Enterprize, did not approve that Place, and ſo that Project was alſo laid aſide. At laſt they all fix'd upon a Place between *Turnham-Green* and *Brentford*, in a mooriſh Bottom, where there is a Bridge, and divers Roads that croſs one another. On the North-ſide there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*, and on the South a Lane that leads to the River, ſo that Paſſengers may come thither ſeveral Ways. After you have paſs'd the Bridge, the Road goes narrow, having on one Side a Foot-Path, and on the other a high thick Hedge. Here the barbarous Parricide was to be committed: And indeed, all Circumſtances conſider'd, a fitter Place could hardly have been found, for his Majeſty often return'd late from Hunting, and uſually paſs'd thro' this Lane after his Landing at *Queen's-Ferry*, with no greater Attendance than five or ſix of his Guards. It was alſo his Majeſty's Cuſtom to enter the Ferry-Boat in his Coach, and as ſoon as he landed on this ſide the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the reſt of his Guards, who could not croſs the *Thames* till the Boat return'd to the *Surrey* ſide to bring them over, and ſo the reſt of his Guards could not have come to his Aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe the Conſpirators were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches three ſeveral Ways: One of which was to attack the Guards in the Front; the other in the Rear, whilſt ten or twelve of the bloodieſt amongſt

them

them, were to assassinate his Majesty in the Coach.

THE 15th Day of *February* was the Day appointed to act this hellish Tragedy; and the Conspirators having long kept two Men at *Kensington* to watch the King's going to hunt, which was commonly every *Saturday*, one of these *orderly* Men (for so they call them) brought them word that the King did not go abroad that Day. This Disappointment was attended with the Fears of a Discovery, and thereupon *Plouden*, *Kendrick* and *Sherburn*, the most timorous of all the Plotters, declin'd the Action, and withdrew themselves; but Sir *George Barclay*, Sir *William Perkins*, Capt. *Porter*, and Mr. *Goodman*, concluding the Design was not discover'd, from their not being taken up by the Government, they had another Meeting, and there resolv'd to execute their bloody Project, on *Saturday* the 22d of *February*. That Forenoon was spent in a tedious Expectation of the News that the King was gone abroad; but instead of that Account, *Keys*, one of the *orderly* Men at *Kensington*, brought Advice, that the Guards were all come back in a Foam, and that there was a Muttering among the People, that a damnable Plot was discover'd. This astonishing News alarm'd and dispers'd all the Conspirators, and drove them to shift for themselves by a speedy Flight.

The Plot discover'd.

NOR was *Keys*'s Report, and their Apprehensions groundless; for the Plot, and every Step of it from time to time, had been discover'd by *Richard Fisher*, and something of it by Mr. *Grimes*, to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fisher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harrison* the Priest, who took him to be one of their Party, and *Grimes* had some dark Hints from another; but both refusing to give his Lordship the Names of the

Conſpirators, little Credit was given to their Informations, till they were confirm'd by other Teſtimonies.

MR. *Pendergraſs*, who was wholly ignorant of the Deſign till he was ſent for to *London*, being ſtruck with Horror at the firſt Propoſal of it, even then took up a Reſolution to ſave his Majeſty's Life; tho' the better to manage his intended Diſcovery, he ſeem'd willing to engage in the Enterprize. This Gentleman, on the 14th of *February* at Night, went to the Earl of *Portland*, and being admitted to Privacy with his Lordſhip, tho' wholly a Stranger, without further Addreſs, accoſted his Lordſhip with this ſurprizing Requeſt: *Pray, my Lord, perſuade the King to ſtay at home to Morrow; for if he goes abroad to hunt, he will be murder'd.* The ſame Night, tho' late, he was introduc'd to his Majeſty, and diſcover'd the whole Plot; and his whole Deportment ſhewing him to be a Man of Honour, a great Streſs was laid upon his Information. The next Day after Mr. *De la Rue* made the ſame Diſcovery, which he would have done before, but that his Friend Brigadier *Lewſon*, who deſign'd to introduce him to the King, was gone out of Town. Upon his Return to *London*, Brigadier *Lewſon* acquainted the King that Mr. *De la Rue* had inform'd him of a Deſign carrying on to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty; and propos'd a Way, if the King thought fit, how all the Conſpirators might be taken in Arms. *Thomas Pendergraſs* and *De la Rue* acted upon a ſeparate Bottom, yet they punctually agreed in all the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy, which render'd their Diſcovery unqueſtionable: But yet both peremptorily refus'd to name the Conſpirators; which might have been of fatal Conſequence, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found

the

the happy Expedient to prevent it, by perſuading his Majeſty to give himſelf the Trouble of examining them ſeparately in his Cloſet. The King having accordingly examin'd Mr. *Pendergraſs* before the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Cuts*, and Mr. *De la Rue* before the ſame Earl and Brigadier *Lewſon*; his Majeſty ſhew'd himſelf extreamly well ſatisfied in the Truth of their Diſcoveries, and in a very obliging Manner expreſs'd his Reſentment for their Generoſity, in the great Care and Zeal they ſhew'd for the Preſervation of his Life, and the Safety of the Kingdom; and at laſt gave them ſuch unanſwerable Reaſons why, as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they ſhould compleat their Duty and Affection by naming the Conſpirators, as quite overcame their former Unwillingneſs, and prevail'd with them to tell the Names of the Aſſaſſins, under the Promiſe of not being made uſe of as Evidences. But not many Days after, Mr. *Pendergraſs* hearing that Mr. *Porter*, who engag'd him in the Plot, had by an allowable Stratagem been frighted into a Diſcovery, and accus'd him, he thought himſelf diſcharg'd from any Obligation of Honour in concealing it, and therefore afterwards came in as an Evidence at *Charnock*'s Tryal.

UPON this a Proclamation was iſſu'd out for apprehending the Conſpirators, with the Promiſe of a Thouſand Pounds Reward for every one that ſhould be taken and brought to Juſtice: Several came in, confeſs'd the Fact, and made large Diſcoveries of the Particulars; ſome fled, and others were taken, and at the Gallows and Scaffold receiv'd the due Reward of their black and helliſh Enterprize; moſt of 'em died owning and defending the Crime charg'd upon them; Sir *John Friend* declar'd he firmly believ'd

Execution of Sir *John Friend*.

liev'd the Cauſe he ſuffer'd for was the Cauſe of God and true Religion; and among other Things pray'd, *That God would deliver this ſinful Nation from the Guilt of Rebellion, Blood and Perjury; comfort the diſtreſs'd* King, *reſtore him to his Right, and his miſled Subjects to their Allegiance; that he would bleſs his Royal Conſort, and his Royal Highneſs the Prince of* Wales, *and grant that he might grow in Stature and in Favour with God and Man.* And in the like Sentiments and Temper died Sir *William Perkins*; and yet both of theſe Gentlemen were abſolv'd at the Place of Execution by Mr. *Jeremy Collier* (a Nonjuring Clergyman of the Church of *England*) and two others, who us'd the Form of Abſolution in the Office for the Viſitation of the Sick; and to add the greater Solemnity to it, accompanied the Abſolution with Impoſition of Hands; for which they were deſervedly cenſur'd by the Biſhops.

AND thus another Plot, as horrid as could well enter into the Minds of Men, was happily and ſeaſonably defeated: And herein *England, Britain, Europe*, again deliver'd. —— *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us!*

IT exceedingly added to the Mortification of the *Tories* and *Jacobites*, that the Year after, 1697. at the Peace of *Ryſwick*, the *French* King was forc'd to abandon his Dependant King *James*, notwithſtanding he had openly declared he would never lay down his Arms till he had reſtor'd him to his Throne. This ſtrangely dejects the diſappointed Prince, and left him no other Relief than to appeal to the World in a Manifeſto, containing the Reaſons that ſhould engage the Confederate Catholick Princes to promote his Reſtoration, an Expoſtulation of the Injuſtice done him, and a Proteſtation againſt

gainſt what was done at *Ryſwick*, as null in reſpect to the Violation of his Rights.

BUT neither King *James*, nor his Friends yet gave up the Cauſe; ſtill they are waiting their Opportunity, and hatching Miſchief: No ſooner had the Peace open'd a free Paſſage between *England* and *France*, but the Government received Information, that the Duke of *Berwick*, Sir *George Barclay*, *Harriſon*, *Durant*, Col. *Parker*, and ſeveral other ſuſpicious Perſons, were come over upon treaſonable Deſigns, and a Proclamation was iſſu'd out for apprehending them, promiſing the Reward of a Thouſand Pounds for each. This was in 1697; and 1699, upon disbanding the Army, the *Papiſts*, and other *Jacobites*, grew exceeding inſolent, which put the Houſe of Commons upon an Addreſs to the King; wherein they take Notice of the great Concourſe of the *Papiſts*, and other diſaffected Perſons to the City; of their keeping Horſes and Arms contrary to Law; their reſorting near the Two Houſes of Parliament, and even the Royal Palaces; adding, That they had certain Information of great Numbers of popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits endeavouring to pervert his Majeſty's Subjects; that they imported great Quantities of popiſh Books: They conclude, deſiring effectual Care may be taken to ſuppreſs them. And thus they go on, purſuing ſuch kind of Work, thro' all Diſcouragements.

THE next Year, 1701, it pleas'd God to remove out of the World the abdicated Monarch, for whoſe Reſtoration they had ſtickled long: Being broken with Reſentment and Sorrow, he fell into a Lethargy, and died at *St. Germains*, *September 6, O. S.* But the Cauſe did not die with him: No ſooner is the Father dead, but his pretended Son is ſet up in his Stead, and pub- K. *James's* Death.

Pretender proclaim'd an *France.*

publickly proclaim'd by Order of *Lewis* XIV. King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; which, as may well be ſuppos'd, was reſented by the Great King *William* (and indeed by the whole Nation) in a very ſenſible manner, and put him upon ſome vigorous Reſolutions: And whereas the preſent Parliament had ſhown themſelves no way fit to be depended upon in this extraordinary Juncture, the King was prevail'd with to diſſolve it, and call another, which met *October* 31, 1701. when his Majeſty made that memorable Speech that prov'd his laſt, and is juſtly eſteem'd to exceed all that ever came from the Throne. *The owning*, ſays he, *and ſetting up the pretended Prince of* Wales *for King of* England, *is not only the higheſt Indignity offer'd to me and the Nation, but does ſo nearly concern every Man who has a Regard for the Proteſtant Religion, or the preſent and future Happineſs of his Country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to heart, and to conſider what further effectual Means may be us'd for ſecuring the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of all Pretenders, and their open and ſecret Abettors.* He adds, — *You have yet an Opportunity, by the Bleſſing of God, to ſecure to you and your Poſterity the quiet Enjoyment of your Religion and Liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, but will exert the antient Vigour of the* Engliſh *Nation: But I tell you plainly, my Opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this Occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.*

K. *William's* laſt Speech.

NONE that know the State and Poſture of Affairs at that Time, what Inroads the *French* King had made upon the *Dutch*, that he had added the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to his own Dominions, and had provided (as far as he could) to fill the *Britiſh* Throne with one of his own Creatures, will wonder at the Zeal and Warmth

of

of this Speech: The vigilant Prince foreſaw the Storm approaching, and thought himſelf oblig'd to give a ſolemn Warning, as he had from the ſame Precaution taken Meaſures beyond Seas for the publick Safety, concluding ſeveral Alliances (with the States General, the Emperour, *&c.*) Indeed nothing was omitted by him, he thought neceſſary to preſerve the Liberties of *Europe*; but he had not leave to proſecute any of his great Deſigns: His Indiſpoſition kept him in *Holland* longer than was intended, and when he came back, he found his Strength ſo ſenſibly impair'd, that he told the Earl of *Portland* he did not expect to live another Summer, charging his Lordſhip at the ſame time to keep it ſecret till he was dead. On the 21ſt of *February* he got a Fall from his Horſe, and broke his Collar-Bone; and on the 8th of *March*, 170$\frac{1}{2}$. died, to the inexpreſſible Grief of all true Lovers of their Country and Religion. K. *William's* Death.

THE *Jacobites* not only triumph in his Death, it being the Revival of their Hopes; but ſhow their Spite to that Degree of Indecency, as in their Clubs to drink Healths to *Sorrel*, the Horſe from which his Majeſty fell; and ſome of them went ſo far as to celebrate the Praiſes of the Brute, and even canonize their Brother in a * *Latin* Epigram; which if it have any Wit in it, has a great deal more Malice. Jacobites exceedingly elated at the Death of K. *William*.

* *Illuſtris Sonipes, certe digniſſime Cælo,*
Cui Leo, cui Taurus, cui dabit Urſa locum.
Qua te felicem, felicia prata tulere,
Ubera qua felix prabuit alma Parens.
Hibernis Patriam veniſti ulturus ab Oris;
Aut Glenco, aut ſtirps te † Faniciana dedit. † Fenwick's.
Sis felix quicunque precor, memorande, nec unquam
Jam Sella Dorſum, frana nec ora premant.
Humani generis Vindex, moriente Tyranno,
Hanc Libertatem quam dabis, ipſe teve.

BUT

BUT the Hopes of the Party were not a little dash'd, when they saw the Queen resolv'd to pursue the Measures of the late King, to confirm the Alliances he had entred into, and to carry on the War according to the excellent Plan he had left: Which she did with such a Series of Successes for eight Campaigns together, under the Conduct of the Great *Marlborough*, that no History can parallel. Every Year extended her Majesty's Conquests, and humbled the *French* Monarch to that degree, that he was reduced to the Condition of begging Peace; and instead of imposing Kings on his Neighbours, was glad to compound for his own Dominions, which was well enough express'd in an Inscription in one of their pyramidal Illuminations, on Occasion of a publick Rejoycing.

The glorious Succeſs of Q. *Anne*'s Arms

As threatning Spain *did to* Eliza *bow,*
So France *and* Spain *shall do to* Anna *now:*
France, *that protects false Claims t' another's Throne,*
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.

AND in this State Things continue till the Year 1710. when a Scene open'd that was the Surprize and Amazement of the greatest Part of *Europe*; but is now perfectly well understood to be, what Multitudes before thought, a Plot in favour of the Pretender. The Particulars of this strange Event I can't pretend to give in the Close of a short History, and therefore shall leave the fuller Account to Sir *R——d S——*'s *Folio*, in several Languages: However as they directly concern the present Subject, and must be esteem'd the blackest Tragedy we have yet met with, I must by no means wholly pass 'em over.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

A deſign'd Invaſion in Scotland. Scotland *invaded. Jacobites violently oppoſe the Union, as cloſing the Door againſt the Pretender. The Plots of the four laſt Years of Queen* ANNE.

THERE had been before this Time (to look a little back) ſeveral Attempts of the Jacobite Party, to reſtore, as they call it, their King (*i. e.* to ſet up the Pretender): Her Majeſty, in her Speech to the Parliament *October* 17, 1703. tells them, *She had unqueſtionable Informations of very ill Practices and Deſigns carried on in* Scotland *by Emiſſaries from* France, *which might have prov'd extreamly dangerous to the Peace of theſe Kingdoms.* And on the 22d of *March* following, the Lords, upon the Examination of the Matter, reſolv'd, it did appear to them there had been a dangerous Conſpiracy carried on for raiſing a Rebellion in *Scotland*, and invading that Kingdom with a *French* Power. Mr. *Lock-t* remarks here *, that notwithſtanding the Lords were ſo clear (in the Buſineſs of a Plot) there was not one unbiaſs'd Perſon Jacobite Men.

* Memoirs of *Scotland*, p. 92.

that

that did not ſee it was all Trick and Villany; which is certainly a Cenſure free enough for a Gentleman, when, by his own Confeſſion, plotting one way or another, was the conſtant Trade of the Party, and the Queen and Houſe of Lords thought they had ſufficient Evidence of this Plot.

Plots againſt the Government in *Scotland.*

IN 1705. while the Union between the two Kingdoms was negotiating, the Party invite over the Pretender, and ſollicit *France* to make an Invaſion. The Author of the *Memoirs* juſt now mention'd * takes Notice, "That the "Treaty (of Union) being brought to its Com- "mencement, the Temper and Diſpoſition of "the *Scotch* Nation was very much towards the "(pretended) King; and that the Intereſt of "the diſtreſs'd Royal Family encreas'd very "much in the Kingdom: Accounts of which "were from Time to Time tranſmitted to the "*French* King, who ſeem'd to be in earneſt to "do ſomething for our Royal Family's Intereſt, "and for this End diſpatch'd one *Hooks*, who "arriv'd at *Edinburgh* in the Month of *Auguſt*, "or thereabouts, 1706. with Letters from the "*French* King and King *James*, to the Duke of "*Hamilton*, the E---- of *E*-----*l*, the E---- of "*M*-----*l*, and the E---- of *H*-----*me*, exhort- "ing them to ſtand up for the Intereſt of the "diſtreſs'd Royal Family, and promiſing to aſ- "ſiſt the *Scots* (his dearly belov'd and antient "Allies) in ſo good a Deſign as Reſtoring their "King to his Thrones; empowering *Hooks* to "receive Propoſals, and deſiring them to ſend "over to *France*, one fully inſtructed to "treat and conclude with him for that "Effect. The Cavaliers told him, they were "willing to do every thing that could in reaſon

* Page 196.

"be

"be demanded of them for advancing the King's "Service; and would, as they were desir'd, "send over one in a little Time to confer with "King *James* and the King of *France*; with "which Answer he (*Hooks*) return'd to *France*: "Accordingly they sent over Captain *Henry* "*St*----*n*, being a Person of entire Honour and "Honesty, and every way qualified for such an "Employment. The Captain waited some "time for Mr. *L*-----*t*'s Return from the Trea-"ty (he being one of the Commissioners) which "was about the latter End of *July*, 1706. Be-"sides what concern'd the Treaty, Mr. *L*-----*t* "also acquainted him, that he had pump'd the "Tories in *England*, to know what they would "do in Case the King came over, particularly "had found means to understand the D--- "of *L*------*s*, the L--- *G*-----*l*, and found "that the *English* Tories were much more cau-"tious than the *Scotch*, they being of Opinion, "that no Attempts were to be made during "Queen *Anne*'s Life: However, the Captain "sails for *France*, and was kindly receiv'd, but "could bring nothing to a Conclusion. The "Battles of *Ramelies* and *Turin* had so discon-"certed the King's Measures, that he was not "in a Capacity to afford either Men or Money "at that Time for our King's Service, notwith-"standing King *James* told him, that he long'd "extremely to be among his *Scotch* Friends; "and oblig'd him to give in Writing, and sign'd, "a Character of every Man in the *Scotch* Par-"liament, as they stood affected to him, and "were capable to serve him; and then he was "dismiss'd with fair Promises from the *French* "King of doing all that could be expected at "another Time, and with Letters from King "*James* to the Duke of *H*-------*n*, E--- of

"*E*——*l*, E—— *M*——*l* and *U*——*ſt*. And "thus, ſays he, theſe two Negociations came "to no Effect at this Time. In the Interim "the People's Inclinations towards King *James* "ſtill increas'd, and his Intereſt prevail'd more "and more over all the Kingdom."

The Pretender invades *Scotland*.

IN the Year 1708. upon concluding the Union, the enrag'd Jacobites openly declare themſelves for the Pretender, and attempt to ſet him upon the *Britiſh* Throne: To which purpoſe they encourag'd him to invade the Kingdom, as he actually did, with a conſiderable Force. This was, as I ſaid, upon the Union: And that the Reader may know what Influence the Union had in the Affair, he need only reflect, that there was nothing the whole Jacobite Faction had more at Heart, than the Union, *i. e.* nothing they hated more (which henceforth muſt be look'd upon one Senſe, if not the only proper Senſe of that Phraſe) for whilſt the *Scotch* had not yet fallen in with the *Engliſh* Settlement in the Houſe of *Hanover*, they thought they had ſtill a Door open for the Pretender, for whom they reſerv'd the Crown. And hence they riſe up with the utmoſt Clamour on every Motion that was made, and Step that was taken for the accompliſhing the Union; they cry out of the Treaty itſelf, as a betraying the Liberties of their Country, proteſt againſt all that was done from Time to Time, and oppoſe it with Might and Main. The famous Author of the *Memoirs* (who was in all the Intriegues of the Faction, and who has, againſt his Will, expos'd them to the World) having taken Notice that the Act for a Treaty of Union was voted and approved, makes this Reflection, *From this Day*, ſays he, *may we date the Commencement of* Scotland's *Ruin*.

The Jacobites violently oppoſe the Union.

WHEN

WHEN the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners came to be debated in the *Scotch* Parliament, they not only wrangle and protest against every Article themselves, but stir up all they could throughout the Kingdom to petition and protest, and do every thing that might obstruct the dreaded Union: And when at last they saw these Methods were ineffectual, they resolve to make use of another sort of Arguments, and by an arm'd Force hinder the Proceedings of the Parliament. "To which pur-"pose, says the *Memoirs*, one *Cunningham* of "*Eckatt*, being disgusted, and taking the Ruin "of his Country mightily to Heart, undertook "to head many Thousands of the Malecon-"tents, who were to march to *Edinburgh*, and "dispute the Articles of the Union with Sword "in Hand; and he brought Matters to such a "Consistency (adds my Author) that, provided "concerted Measures had been kept, he had "fais'd the Parliament with a Vengeance." Mr. *Cunningham*'s chief Interests, as the *Memoirs* represents it, lay in the *Western* Shires, where he had discours'd great Numbers, and found them to be of Opinion with himself, That there was no way to save the Nation, but first by raising the Parliament, and then declaring for King *James*. My Author makes a Question of it, Whether this Gentleman was a Court-Spy, or in earnest? But at the same time declares his Opinion that he was sincere. I know the Major *(Cunningham)* has own'd a great deal of the Matter of Fact; but alledges, what he undertook was for the Service of the Government; and accordingly he acquainted some Great Men then in the Administration with all that pass'd.

THIS

THIS Project being disappointed (and my Author imputes it to Duke *Hamilton*, who did not think fit at that Time to venture in it) another Stratagem was made use of to undermine the Union, if possible, which was propos'd by Duke *Hamilton*. The Parliament having advanc'd to the Twenty second Article of the Union, the Duke conven'd a great Number of those that had oppos'd the Union, and pathetically exhorted them not to look back upon what might be thought done amiss by any, but to go forwards, now at the last Hour, to do something to save the Nation, just come to the Brink of Ruin *. To which, after all present had declar'd their chearful Concurrence, tho' the Consequence should be never so fatal, his Grace propos'd, that the Marquis of *An——le* should renew his Motion of proceeding to settle the Crown in the House of *Hanover*; and as it was not to be question'd the same would be rejected, that a Protestation should be enter'd, and adher'd to, by all that were against the Union; who should in a Body together, immediately after, make a Separation from the other Members, by leaving the House, not to return again. After some Consideration, the Party eagerly came into this Measure †; only one thing stuck with them, their mentioning their having been willing to settle the Succession on the House of *Hanover*: which, they said, was a kind of an Obligation to make their Refuge to that Family, *&c.* Whereas their Design was, and ever had been, to preserve the Nation, and at the same time to restore the King to the Throne; which they thought the present Temper of the People would very much advance.

* Memoirs, p. 293. † Ibid. p. 322.

To

To which the Duke of *Hamilton* return'd, That it could draw no Obligation upon them to adhere to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*, ſince they did not proteſt againſt the Motion's being rejected, the Narrative only bearing the true Matter of Fact, *viz.* That ſuch a Propoſal had actually been made; and even ſuppoſing it was otherwiſe, it was not the firſt time they had made greater Stretches with a Deſign that Good might come of it, and he hop'd this would be the laſt: Which (as ſorry a Pretence as it was) brought over the whole Party, who impatiently waited for the Execution of the Project; inſomuch, that great Numbers of Gentlemen and eminent Citizens flock'd together that Morning (when the Proteſt was to be made) about the Parliament Houſe, to convey the ſeparating Members *.—But it ſeems the Duke again fail'd them: At firſt he excus'd himſelf from attending the Houſe that Day, on the Account of the Tooth-ach; but being ſham'd out of that Pretence, makes his Appearance. When he came to Parliament, he ask'd his Friends that were upon the Concert, who they had pitch'd upon to enter the Proteſtation: They told him, none ſo fit as his Grace, being a Perſon of the firſt Quality and moſt Intereſt in the Nation, begging he would lead them on at this Time, and aſſuring him they would ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes: But nothing would do, he ſtill perſiſting in his Reſolution not to be the Preſenter of it, tho' he ſwore he would be the firſt Adherer; and ſo much Time was ſpent in wrangling upon this Point, that the Opportunity was loſt. What influenc'd the Duke thus to change his Mind,

* Memoirs, p. 324.

my Author is uncertain; but he obſerves that this created that Dryneſs between him and the Cavaliers, that for the future no other Meaſure was concerted, and every one did that which was right in his own Eyes; ſo that an happy Deſpair henceforth ſeiz'd the Party. The Union is preſently brought to Perfection, approv'd and ratify'd by the *Britiſh* Parliament, and commenc'd on the 1ſt of *May*, 1707. "A Day, ſays "the *Memoirs*, never to be forgot by *Scotland*; "a Day in which the *Scots* were ſtript of what "their Predeceſſors had gallantly maintain'd for "many Hundred Years; I mean, their Inde-"pendency and Sovereignty." But he ſhould have ſaid, which no doubt was the true and greateſt Grievance, that it was a Day in which the Jacobites (who had been ſo long projecting the Enſlaving and Ruin of their Country) were ſtript of their fond and pernicious Hopes, and a ſtrong Barrier was reaſonably form'd againſt a popiſh Pretender.

The Pretender invades *Scotland*, 1707-8.

THE Party being exceedingly provok'd at theſe Diſappointments, reſolve once for all to make a home Puſh for't; and accordingly haſten over their Maſter. The Writer of the *Memoirs* tells us, that Matters were concerted in *Scotland* for this purpoſe by *Hooks*, mention'd before, who produc'd Letters, one from the King (*i. e.* the Pretender) and another from the *French* King, being his Credentials, and empowering him to treat with the People of *Scotland* about the King's Reſtoration, and to recover the Nation's Sovereignty and antient Privileges. Beſides theſe Letters, he propos'd a long Paper, containing ſeveral Queries drawn by Monſieur *de Tercy*, relating to the Number of Men that could be rais'd in *Scotland*, and the Number of Men, Sum of Money, Arms, *&c.* neceſſary to

be

be ſent from *France*. Theſe Queries were diſtinctly anſwer'd in a Paper tranſmitted to *France*, in which they give a full Account of the State of Affairs, repreſent the ſtrong Inclinations of the People to venture all for the King's Service, and earneſtly intreat him to come over as ſoon as poſſible. The Paper was ſign'd by about fifteen or ſixteen Noblemen and Gentlemen; whoſe Names (moſt of 'em) may be found in the Author.

UPON this Encouragement, and from ſome advantageous Change in the Poſture of his Affairs, the *French* King embarks in the Cauſe of the Pretender, and ſeems more in Earneſt than ever before, not only by equipping a Fleet for his Service, but furniſhing him with all Neceſſaries for his Expedition; as, Men, Money, fine Tents, a great deal of Gold and Silver, Plate of curious Workmanſhip, Cloaths for his future Life-Guards, Liveries for his Houſhold: And 'tis ſaid, the Day before the Pretender left St. *Germains*, to go for *Dunkirk*, from whence he was to embark, Monſieur went to take leave of him, and wiſh him Succeſs; and preſenting him with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds of a conſiderable Value, deſir'd him always to remember it was a *French* Sword. The *Knight of St. George* (for that was the Name he aſſum'd in this Adventure) anſwer'd the Compliment, with aſſuring his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that if it was his good Fortune to get Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors, he would not content himſelf with returning him Thanks by Letters and Ambaſſadors, but would ſhew his Gratitude by Deeds, and come in Perſon to acknowledge his Majeſty's Protection and Aſſiſtance: To which the King reply'd, He hop'd never to ſee him again.

AFTER such Preparations as these, little seem'd to remain, as they now thought, but to divide the Spoil. What Expectations the *French* King had from the Undertaking, may in part appear from his Circular Letter to his Ministers in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other neutral Places, which I shall here subjoyn.

"I HAVE long been of Opinion, that the "Assisting the King of *England* to pos-"sess the Throne of his Ancestors, would be "for the General Good of all *Europe*. I believe "that Peace would be the Consequence of its "Success, and that the Prince's Subjects will "esteem themselves equally happy, in contri-"buting to re-establish him in the Place of "his Predecessors, and in being themselves de-"liver'd from those continual Impositions, where-"with they are overwhelm'd, to maintain a "War altogether foreign to them.

"AS the *Scots* have yet more Reason than "the *English* to be dissatisfy'd with the present "Government of *England*, it appears to me a "convenient Opportunity to restore to that "Nation their Lawful Sovereign, and to enable "the Prince to deliver it from the Oppression "it has suffer'd since the Revolution, which "happen'd under the late King of *England*, "*James* II.

"THESE are the Reasons which have deter-"min'd me to equip a Squadron of my Ships "at *Dunkirk*, and to furnish the King of *En-*"*gland* with a considerable Number of my "Troops, to accompany him to *Scotland*, to "support those his faithful Subjects who shall "declare for him.

"HE left this Place yesterday to go to *Dun-*"*kirk*, in order to embark and get with all

Ex-

" Expedition to *Scotland*: His Intention is not " to enter the Kingdom by Right of Conqueſt, " but to oblige them to receive him as Legal " Poſſeſſor of it. He will behave himſelf in " like manner with reſpect to all his other Do- " minions, who ſhall pay the Obedience they " owe him; and his Subjects will only be di- " ſtinguiſh'd according to the Zeal and Affec- " tion they ſhew for him, without examining " what Religion they profeſs, in which he leaves " them to their entire Liberty.

" I have not thought of enlarging my Power " by aſſiſting to re-eſtabliſh this Prince; 'tis " ſufficient that I do an Act of Juſtice, in vin- " dicating the Honour of Crown'd Heads, " highly affronted in the Perſon of the late King " his Father; and my Wiſhes will be entirely " accompliſh'd, if, by God's Bleſſing on my " Endeavours, the Succeſs become the Means " of procuring a laſting Peace, ſo neceſſary to " all *Europe*.

" As this Reſolution of mine will ſoon ſpread " itſelf thro' all *Europe*, my Will is, that you " ſpeak of it in the manner I direct you.

Given at *Verſailles* this Eighth Day of *March*, 1708.

NOR did the Father of the Church come behind his Eldeſt Son, in a Concern for ſo glo- rious a Cauſe; but ſhew'd his Zeal, not only in contributing to the Charge of this Expedition, but (which was as much in his Way) appointed publick Prayers of Forty Hours in the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* Churches, for its Succeſs; and granted Indulgences to ſuch as would lend a charitable Hand, and devoutly joyn in putting up thoſe Prayers.

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THE Knight being thus provided with Men, Money, and the Pope's Bleſſing, ſets forward in purſuit of his Crown, ſailing from *Dunkirk* on Board the *French* Fleet, commanded by Count *de Fourbin*, *March* 19. N. S. of which he gave his Friends Notice by Mr. *Cha. Flemming*, Brother to the Earl of *Wigton*; whom, ſays Mr. *Lock--t*, he diſpatch'd to *Scotland* for that purpoſe; and with him ſent Inſtructions how they were to behave, and particularly deſiring them not to ſtir till they were ſure he was landed; and that then they ſhould ſecure all the Horſes, Money, Arms and Proviſions of ſuch as were not well affected to him, and even their Perſons, if poſſible. Mr. *Flemming* was further order'd to cauſe Pilots to meet him at the Mouth of the *Firth* of *Forth*, and guide his Fleet up the ſame, he being reſolv'd to land at the South-ſide thereof, at or about *Dunbar*; and how welcome the News was in *Scotland*, the *Memoirs* intimates, which ſays, "That nothing "was to be heard there but Prayers for a lucky "Voyage; and when the Time drew near, moſt "People ſlipp'd privately out of *Edinburgh* to "the Country, to prepare themſelves for joyn-"ing the King."

IN the mean time, the Government of *England* having Intelligence of the Deſign, and the Preparations, omits nothing that was thought neceſſary to diſappoint the Enemy, and ward off the Blow. Ten Battallions are ſent for from *Holland*; which, under Convoy of Admiral *Baker*, embark'd at *Oſtend*, *March* 28. N. S. and in three Days arriv'd at *Tinmouth*. A conſiderable Fleet was fitted out under the Command of Sir *George Bing*, conſiſting of twenty three *Britiſh* Ships, three *Dutch* Men of War, and one *Britiſh* Fireſhip, which firſt ſail'd towards *Dunkirk*

to

to observe the Enemies Motions; and afterwards, being reinforc'd to the Number of above forty Men of War of the Line of Battle, besides Frigats and Fireships, pursu'd the *French* Fleet to the Coasts of *Scotland*; and coming up with them before they could land any of their Forces, utterly spoil'd the Project. The *Memoirs* gives this Account of the Matter: "The *French* Fleet, "says the Author, arriv'd in the *Firth* of *Forth*, "*Friday, March* 12. O. S. where at Night they "dropp'd Anchor, designing next Morning to "have sail'd up the River, and landed; but "perceiving the *English* Fleet was come upon "them, they immediately cut their Anchors, "and having a good Breese of Wind, stood out "to the Ocean." And so made a shift to get away with their Champion, and all his Treasure, except one Ship, the *Salisbury*, which was taken by the *English*, with the Lord *Griffin*, the Earl of *Middleton*'s two Sons, &c. on Board.

AND thus another Storm was blown over, and the Friends of the Nation left to adore the Divine Providence in their Deliverance; and what abundant Reason they had to do so, may be infer'd in part from what the Author, so often mention'd before, observes, *viz.* "That the "Consternation (upon the Invasion) was so ge-"neral, that the publick Credit gave way to "that degree, and there came such a Demand "of Money upon the *Bank*, that had the News "of Sir *George Bing*'s chasing the *French* off the "*Scotch* Coast come a Day later, it had broke "and been shut up, and with it the Credit of "the Government; which alone, adds he, was "a sufficient Compensation for all the Expence "the *French* were at." Elsewhere he tells us, "That an Air of Jollity and Satisfaction was "to be observ'd in every Person's Face on this

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"Occaſion, except ſuch as were deeply dipt in "the Revolution, who were in the greateſt Ter- "ror and Confuſion." And in another place, ſpeaking of the Complaint of the General, the Lord *Leven*, that the Tories were upiſh, he adds, "Upiſh they were indeed, expecting ſoon to "have an Occaſion of repaying him and his "Fellow Rebels in the ſame Coin he and they "had treated them with for theſe Twenty Years "paſt." And none can doubt this was their Expectation; but their Triumph was but for a Moment, God was pleas'd again to diſappoint our Friends Fears, and Enemies Hopes: in a few Days their Countenances fell, and they were left to repine at the Nation's Deliverance. *Hitherto the Lord helped us.*

The fatal Change in the Queen's Counſels and Meaſures, 1710.

I am now to return to the Subject I've a little diverted from, the *Annus Mirabilis* (1710.) and the ſtrange Revolution then brought about, at leaſt begun; which, tho' I ſhan't pretend to deſcribe in all its Particulars, as I ſaid, I muſt however touch upon, that I may continue the horrid Story to the preſent Time.

I have already hinted in how happy a State this Year found the Nation; the Union of the two Kingdoms (that difficult, hazardous, and yet important Affair) concluded, after many former Attempts had come to nothing; the *French* Power reduc'd, and the haughty Monarch put out of a Condition of annoying his Neighbours; the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſecur'd by a Variety of wiſe Laws, and ſtrengthen'd by the Guaranty of our beſt Allies; and indeed, as our Enemies had hitherto been remarkably baffled in all their Conſpiracies, their very Hopes ſeem'd now utterly to periſh.

WHILE on a ſudden, as if ſome malevolent Planet had influenc'd her Counſels, or ſome ho-

ſtile

ſtile Dæmon had poſſeſs'd her Counſellors, *Britain* gives up all her Advantages, betrays her Securities, and delivers herſelf into the Hands of her worſt Enemies; and, to raiſe them, ruin'd herſelf. A Writer of ſome Fame, ſpeaking of the four laſt Years of the late Miniſtry, thus expreſſes himſelf: "Not one bright Day, ſays he, "to be ſeen in *England* for that Time (*i. e.* four "Years) but the whole Hemiſphere of *Britiſh* "Affairs was vail'd under the blackeſt Cloud: "The Sun of Proſperity has ſhin'd very clear on "the *French* and *Spaniſh* Horizon; their Vines "and Figs have been ripen'd by the warm Beams "ſent forth to them from the Senate-Houſe "and Council-Chamber at *London*; our Cold "and Darkneſs, and their Heat and Light, pro-"ceeded from thence." And what Senſe the Commons of *Britain* had of the Conduct of Affairs at that Time, may be learnt from their late Impeachment of the Lords and others taken at *Preſton*: *Whereas* (ſay they) *for many Years paſt, a moſt wicked Deſign and Contrivance has been form'd and carried on to ſubvert the antient and eſtabliſh'd Government, and good Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to extirpate the true Proteſtant Religion, and to deſtroy its Profeſſors; and inſtead thereof to introduce and ſettle Popery and Arbitrary Power: In which wicked Conſpiracy great Numbers of Perſons of different Qualities have concern'd themſelves; and many Proteſtants, pretending an uncommon Zeal for the Church of* England, *have united their Endeavours to accompliſh the aforeſaid wicked Deſigns* —— *Since the Settlement of the Crown of theſe Realms in the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover, *the ſaid Conſpirators have been indefatigable in their Endeavours to deſtroy the ſame, and to make way for the vain and groundleſs Hopes of a ſpurious Impoſtor and popiſh Pretender to the Imperial Crown*

The Senſe the Parliament had of the late Miniſtry's Conduct.

of

of these Realms; and to accomplish these Ends, the most unchristian and irregular Methods have been taken, but more particularly in the four last Years of the late Queen Anne's *Reign.*

AND in their Preamble to the Land-Tax Bill of the last Session, they take Notice, *That all the Mischiefs, Burdens and Calamities, which shall attend this horrid Rebellion, are in Truth owing to fatal and pernicious Counsels given by some Persons in the late Male-Administration; when, under Pretence of procuring Peace Abroad, the present destructive War was projected to be brought into the very Bowels of our Native Country at Home; when a popish Army was design'd to be the Protector of our Holy Religion,* &c.

BUT I'm sensible there need no Authorities to prove what all the World now sees, *viz.* that the Measures then pursu'd were calculated on purpose to subvert the Act of Settlement, and make way for the Pretender. This was the Plot. The Reader will excuse me if I trace it thro' its several Steps, and take Notice how it began and was carried on; for how much soever this may seem to lie out of my way at other times, at present it falls directly in it.

CHAP. XV.

The Change of the Miniſtry, and the Expectation of our Enemies abroad from thence, being the firſt Step taken to bring in the Pretender. The Hanover *Succeſſion arraign'd, and Hereditary Right advanc'd as another Step. A very great Coolneſs in the Miniſtry towards the Houſe of* Hanover, *and a great Tenderneſs to the Pretender. The Peace diſhonourable, clandeſtine, bewail'd by the Friends of the Nation, and Matter of Triumph to its Enemies. The Peace concluded in the midſt of Victory and Succeſs. The Allies and the late Miniſtry acting'd, loaded with Reproach. The trueſt Friends of the Nation and of the Succeſſion diſgrac'd, and all the Places of Power and Truſt fill'd by Jacobites. All their Meaſures broke, and the Managers left in Confuſion, by the immediate Hand of Heaven.* Auguſt 1.

The ſeveral Steps of the late Plot in favour of the Pretender.

WE muſt reckon the Change of the Miniſtry, and Diſſolution of the Parliament as the firſt Step. What Influence Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Sermon had upon this Change; whether it

was

was done by Concert, or the Man only ſpoke out of the Abundance of his own Heart, I ſhall not take upon me to conjecture; but 'tis plain it was greedily laid hold of, by one that ſtood behind the Curtain, watching his Opportunity to accompliſh the Miſchief he had devis'd: And 'tis as plain the Tour the Incendiary afterwards took up and down the Country, to receive the Homage of the Mob, contributed not a little towards making a Parliament for the preſent purpoſe; which indeed was choſen (in many Places) by meer Violence and Fury, and may properly go by the Name of *Sacheverell*'s and the Mob's Parliament, if it be fit to diſtinguiſh the Head from the Body. The Parliament and the Miniſtry being * changed, a Foundation was laid for all that was deſign'd, and Tools prepar'd (or at leaſt preparing) for any Work to be done; and what Work they had to do,

The Change of the Miniſtry.

* The Change was not all at once; but ſo much was done the firſt Year, as ſhow'd they were reſolv'd to go thro' with their Work. *June* 14, 1710. the Earl of *Sunderland* was turn'd out, and the Earl of *Dartmouth* made Secretary of State in his Room: *Auguſt* 8, Lord *Godolphin* the Treaſurer loſt his Place, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of *Oxford*: *Sept.* 21, that conſummate Stateſman the Lord *Somers*, was remov'd from being Preſident of the Council, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* (whom ſome remember to have been one of King *James*'s Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners) put in his Place: Another Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioner, the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Steward of the Houſhold, inſtead of that Noble Patriot the Duke of *Devonſhire*: *Sept.* 27, *Henry St. John*, afterwards Lord *Bolingbroke*, was made Secretary of State, in the Room of Mr. *Boyle*: *Sept.* 29. Mr. *Walpole* was diſplaced from being Secretary of War, and ſucceeded by Mr. *Granville*: *October* 19, the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the Room of Lord *Wharton*; and at the ſame time Sir *Simon Harcourt* was made Lord-Keeper, in the Room of the Lord *Cowper*; and *Conſtantine Phips*, Eſq. made Lord-Chancellor of *Ireland*: The following Year the Lord *Townſhend* was turn'd out; and the Duke of *Marlborough*, *Dec.* 30. remov'd from all his Places, and the Duke of *Ormond* made Captain-General in his Room: The Duke of *Argyle* was likewiſe turn'd out of all his Employments, and the famous Earl of *Mar* made Secretary of State.

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the Change itſelf ſufficiently intimated, it being the grand diſtinguiſhing Principle of the former and later Miniſtry, (that which was now to be laid aſide, and that choſen in its ſtead) that the one was inviolably attach'd to the Houſe of *Hanover*, and the other had a Squint Eye to a different Quarter; and have ſince diſcover'd, ſeveral of 'em, at leaſt, in the higheſt Truſt, that they were deep in the Intereſt of the Pretender. Any one that has read the *Scotch Memoirs*, and obſerves how great a Correſpondent and Confident the Duke of *H———n* was of the Pretender's, will eaſily underſtand the meaning of it, that he ſhould not only be made Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lancaſter*, but be pitch'd upon towards the Cloſe of the laſt Reign, as Ambaſſador to the Court of *France*.

BUT I leave the Reader to his own Reflections here, and ſhall only obſerve how much this Turn of Affairs reviv'd the Hopes of our Enemies both at Home and Abroad; which is ſo well expreſs'd in a Letter from a Miniſter of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s at *Verſailles* to his Maſter, *October* 18, 1710. that I think it worth while to tranſcribe, and here inſert it. 'Tis as follows:

A Letter of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Miniſter, upon the Change of the Miniſtry.

THE King has receiv'd certain Advice to Day, that the Parliament of England *is diſſolv'd, and that the projected Change of the Miniſtry will go on. His Majeſty did not defer one Moment to give me Notice of it, that I might acquaint your Electoral Highneſs with it. 'Tis certain the Proclamation for a new Parliament, and the general Change of the Miniſtry, will give great Uneaſineſs to the* Dutch, *and make them think of Peace; but this Court will not give into it.*

There is no doubt alſo but the Duke of Marlborough *will quit the Command of the Army, becauſe*

the prevailing Party will leave him unprovided of every thing, to force him to it.

'Tis believed the Princes of Germany *will recall their Troops, as ſoon as* England *fails to pay them the uſual Subſidies; and this is what they extreamly fear in* Holland.

The King ſets all Hands at work to find out Funds, that he may be able to continue the War; the Court being of Opinion that the Opportunity is now come, and that good uſe ought to be made of this favourable Conjuncture, it being impoſſible that the Allies ſhould continue united, after what we have now ſeen in England.

Who is there they can put at the Head of their Army, if the Duke of Marlborough *quits the Command? I can't ſee there is one in* England *proper to fill the Place; for, beſides that he ſhould be a good Officer, he ſhould alſo be a Man of the Cabinet, who may have Credit and Authority with the Allies, which they will not find in any other Perſon, except the Duke of* Marlborough: *The Duke of* Hanover, *if he ſhould accept of the Command, could not be upon a Foot to agree with Prince* Eugene. *Thus we are going abſolutely to ſee a new Face of Affairs: Your Highneſs will pleaſe to give me your Commands, in what Manner you think it proper for me to ſpeak to the King upon this Affair, and what are your Thoughts of the Duke of* Hanover's *Perſon.*

The Duke of Berwick, *who was inform'd a good while ago that this Change would be made, writ to Monſieur* de Torcy, *to beg him to repreſent to the King, that this would be the right Time to attempt a Deſcent, not in* Scotland, *but in* England; *and that he would be glad to put himſelf at the Head of Twenty Thouſand Men, to carry the King of* England *thither with certain Succeſs. This, Sir, is all that I can have the Honour to acquaint your High-*

Highneſs with by this Poſt. I earneſtly wiſh that theſe great Changes may bring us to thoſe great Ends we hope from them; and that God will ſo favour the juſt Cauſe of your Highneſs, that you may ſoon ſee the Pride of your Enemies brought down. I believe the Court of Vienna *will find themſelves extreamly perplex'd by this Scituation of Affairs in* England. *Behold! a great many Meaſures broke, &c.*

INDEED all Things put on a new Face; the *French* at *Gertruydenberg* talk'd of Peace with great Indifferency, and in all future Conferences ſtrangely alter'd their Stile; and at the ſame time the Jacobites every where began to triumph, as if their Golden Age was juſt at hand. In the *Netherlands* a Silver Medal was diſpers'd by the Chevalier *de St. George*'s Order, having his (the Pretender's) Head on the Right Side, and over it this Inſcription, *Cujus eſt?* i. e. *Whoſe Image is this?* On the Reverſe was repreſented *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, with this Motto, *Reddite*, i. e. *Render to* Cæſar *the Things that are his:* Which many hope will be done, if *Cæſar* attempts to land in *Britain* any more, tho' he ſlipt his Neck out of the Halter the laſt time. At Home the Party was inſolent to a ſtrange Degree, witneſs the following Paper; which, it ſeems, they had the Impudence to diſperſe.

Vivat
JACOBUS *TERTIUS*,
PRINCEPS NOSTER
Legitimus.

M——G——D——H——.

Which Capitals were thought to contain a ſhort

Collect, very much us'd at that Time, and by that Party, *viz. May God D——n* Han——.

The Revolution run down, and Hereditary Right cry'd up.

ANOTHER Step was the avowing and countenancing Principles, and ſpreading them thro' the Kingdom, wholly inconſiſtent with the preſent Settlement, expoſing the Glorious Revolution in Eighty Eight, that ſaved the Nation, as criminal and odious. How bare-fac'd was *Sacheverell* on this Head, and yet not only careſs'd by the Party, but preferr'd by the Government, after he and his Doctrine had been cenſur'd by the higheſt Judicature in the Nation! The Pulpits began to ring with Doctrines of Abſolute Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive-Obedience, and the Divine Hereditary Right of Kings; Addreſſes were encourag'd from every Part of the Kingdom, aſſerting and maintaining the ſole Hereditary Right; Multitudes both from *Scotland* and *England* were preſented, which ran in this Strain, and met with a favourable Reception. One Champion for the Cauſe, Dr. *Bedford*, publiſh'd a Book in Folio in Defence of Hereditary Right; and tho' upon Complaint this Preſumption was publickly cenſur'd, the Doctor came off upon eaſy Terms. About the ſame time, and upon the like Encouragement, the Dutcheſs of *Gordon* preſented the Faculty of Advocates in *Edinburgh* with a Medal, the ſame I mention'd before, having the Pretender's Head on one Side, and the Inſcription *Cujus eſt*; and on the Reverſe the Iſles of *Britain* and *Ireland* with this Motto *Reddite*, meaning, Render them to him (the Pretender) whoſe Right it is. Before the Faculty would receive this Medal, they had ſome Debates about the Expediency of it; and one that was for receiving it, and returning the Dutcheſs Thanks, made the following Speech on the Occaſion:

The Pretender's Medal preſented to the Faculty of Advocates

DEAN

DEAN of FACULTY,

WHATEVER these Gentlemen say of their Loyalty, I think they affront the Queen, whom they pretend to honour, in disgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince of the Blood, but the first thereof; and if Blood can give any Right, he's our undoubted Sovereign: I think too, they call her Majesty's Title in Question, which is not our Business to determine: Medals are the Documents of History, to which all our Historians refer; and therefore, tho' I should give King William's *Stamp with the Devil at his Right Ear, I see not how it could be refus'd, since an hundred Years hence it would prove such a Coin had been in* England: *But,* Dean of Faculty, *what needs further Speeches? None oppose the receiving the Medal, and returning Thanks to her Grace, but a few pitiful scoundrel Vermin, and Mushrooms not worth our Notice. Let us, therefore, proceed to name some of our Number, to return our hearty Thanks to the Dutchess of* Gordon.

WHEREUPON the Dean of the Faculty put it to the Vote, and 'twas carried by a Majority of Sixty three against Twelve, that Thanks should be return'd to her Grace; and three Days after Mr. *Dundass* (the Author of the Speech above recited) waits on the Dutchess, and makes her the following Compliment:

MADAM,

WE are deputed by the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, in their Name and for ourselves, to return our most hearty Thanks to your Grace for all your Favours, and particularly for the Honour you did us, in presenting us with a Medal of our Sovereign Lord the King. We shall always be proud of any Occasion of testifying our Loyalty to his Ma-

jesty, and the Respect and Honour we have for your Grace.

AND after a short Answer of her Grace, this worthy Advocate replies:

MADAM,

I Hope and am Confident, so do my Constituents, that your Grace shall have very soon an Opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second Medal, struck upon the Restoration of the King and Royal Family, and the finishing Rebellion, usurping Tyranny and Whiggery.

IT was observ'd, that this Medal was neither of Value (being worth but about half a Crown) nor scarce, the same having been spread in the *Netherlands* some time before; so that the Design must be to arraign the *Hanover* Succession, strike at the Foundation of it, and by so publick an Act give some Reputation to the Jacobite Cause; and accordingly the Party here in *England* boasted of it, as what was done in the Face of the World, by the Oracles of the *Scotch* Nation, Men learned in the Law. 'Tis true, the Faculty publickly denied the Fact charg'd upon them; but, says my Author, the Fact was as related, and was in private justify'd by some of the Members that had been most active in it; and as there was little done by the Government against these Offenders, so it was affirm'd by Sir *David Dalrimple*'s Friends, that he had secret Instructions from some Body not to stir in prosecuting the Medalists.

Coolness in the Government towards the House of *Hanover.*

BESIDES these ruder Attacks of more private Men, which yet receiv'd too much Countenance from Authority, there was a manifest Coolness shown by some in the highest Posts towards

wards the Houſe of *Hanover*; in which the Hopes of all true Proteſtants and *Britons*, under God, centred: With how much Neglect (to ſay no worſe) were the Envoys of that illuſtrious Family treated, the Barons *Bothmar* and *Scutz*? The former was inſulted and forbid the Court, upon preſenting his Maſter's moſt excellent and ſeaſonable Memorial; as was the latter when he had demanded a Summons for the Duke of *Cambridge*. In the mean time there appear'd a wonderful Tenderneſs towards the Pretender. Thus when the Peace was negotiating, and Mr. *Hambden* mov'd that the ſeveral Powers in Alliance with her Majeſty, ſhould, upon a General Peace, be made Guarantees for the Succeſſion; this Motion was oppos'd with an uncommon Zeal by the Miniſtry, and by their Intereſt rejected in the Houſe of Commons, and highly reſented by the Queen, as if it carried an Inſinuation that the Succeſſion was not ſafe enough already: And when on another Occaſion the Lord *Wharton* mov'd that her Majeſty ſhould be addreſs'd, that a Reward might be offer'd to any Perſon that ſhould apprehend the Pretender dead or alive, this was cried out of as unchriſtian; and tho' the Clauſe was not wholly rejected, it receiv'd ſuch a Turn, as left it very ambiguous; inſtead of *dead* or *alive*, it was chang'd into, *bring him to Juſtice in caſe he ſhould land.*

NAY the very Stile is alter'd with reſpect to the Pretender. The Queen in her Speech to the Parliament, *June* 6, 1712. call'd him, *The Perſon who has pretended to diſturb the Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover. And when the Lord *Wharton* mov'd, that the Queen ſhould be addreſs'd to uſe her moſt preſſing Inſtances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, &c. not to receive the

Pretender, nor ſuffer him to continue in any of their Dominions, the Queen anſwer'd, *I will repeat my Inſtances to have that Perſon remov'd according to your Deſire*; but notwithſtanding this, *that Perſon* was ſafe enough. Nor can we imagine but the Duke of *Lorrain* underſtood perfectly well the meaning of ſuch Inſtances, how often ſoever repeated, or he would not have dar'd not only ſtill to harbour the Outlaw, but recommend him to the Nation as a Perſon of the moſt finiſh'd Character and greateſt Merit, in a Letter to the Queen herſelf. And who can reflect upon the Meaſure the Lord *Townſend* met with for the Barrier Treaty, and engaging the *Dutch* to be Guarantees for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and not diſcern the Intereſt of *Hanover* was not then very much at Heart, unleſs in the new Senſe of the Word?

The fatal Peace.

BUT the grand Contrivance of all was the putting a Stop to the Conqueſt and Triumph of her Majeſty's Arms; which was done firſt by a Suſpenſion of Arms, and afterwards by a Peace: I don't ſay what a Peace; nor ſhall I take upon me to give its proper Epithets, and determine how ſafe, how advantageous and glorious it was, I leave it to the Senſe and Feeling of the Nation to judge of that: However, as it was a chief Stroke in the Plot, and the wideſt Step the Party took towards the Ruin of their Country, a few Reflections upon it are due to my preſent Subject, and may be excus'd.

AND I ſhall begin with obſerving this Affair was tranſacted clandeſtinely: The firſt Alarm the Nation receiv'd of the Intriegue was by Mr. *Prior*'s Journey into *France*, about the latter End of *June*, 1711. No Notice was taken of his Abſence, nor Enquiry made after him; but upon his Return, in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, landing

landing in a ſmall Veſſel near *Deal*, he was ſeiz'd by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, and to prevent being diſcover'd aſſum'd another Name; but one of the Officers knowing him, expoſtulated with him about denying his true Name; adding, that in Diſcharge of their Truſt, they muſt keep him in Cuſtody till they had receiv'd further Inſtructions from the Secretaries: Upon which Mr. *Prior* produc'd a Paſs in due Form; but the Officers inſiſted, that not having at firſt declar'd the Name mention'd in the Paſs, they were not oblig'd to ſhow any Regard unto it: And ſo Mr. *Prior* was ſtopt, till he was releas'd from Above.

THIS made no ſmall Noiſe both in Town and Country, and was particularly taken Notice of by Count *Gallas*, the Emperour's Miniſter, who enquir'd fully into the Matter, and finding the Fact was according to common Fame, complain'd of it; but was anſwer'd by the Prime Miniſter, that he had no Reaſon to be alarm'd, for the Queen would never make a Peace derogatory to any Engagements ſhe had with her Allies; and yet even now the Peace was negotiating, and ſoon after in Effect concluded, without their Knowlege and Participation. The *Secret Committee* tells us *, "That it was determin'd by the *Engliſh* Miniſtry to carry on a "ſeparate Negotiation with *France*, excluſive "of all the Allies; and in their private Propoſitions an expreſs Article is inſerted, *That the "Secret ſhould be inviolably kept, till allow'd to be "divulg'd by the Conſent of both Parties.* When "Mr. *Prior* return'd from *France*, he was attended, ſays the *Committee*, by Monſ. *Meſnager*, a Miniſter of *France*, veſted with full "Powers in due Form, and dated *Auguſt* 3,

* Page 11.

"1711.

" 1711. to treat, negotiate, conclude and ſign, " with ſuch Miniſters as ſhould be authoriz'd " for the purpoſe. "

THE *Committee* adds, " That Monſ. *Meſna-* " *ger*, upon his Arrival here, frequently conferr'd " with the Queen's Miniſters, as appears by " many Inſtances; but the Subject Matter of " theſe Conferences, the Time, Place, and par- " ticular Perſons with whom he treated, or by " what Authority, they find no Account of, till " the 20th of *September*, 1711. when by a Letter " of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, then at *London*, to " the Queen at *Windſor*, it appears that the Lord " Treaſurer, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord *Dart-* " *mouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, met Monſ. *Meſna-* " *ger* that Evening, *September* 20, at Mr. *Prior*'s " Houſe; which Meeting, as Mr. *St. John* ſays, " was by Order of the Lords of the Committee " of Council, but ſeems unknown to the Queen " till the Secretary acquainted her with it by " this Letter. At this Meeting Mon. *Meſnager* " deliver'd to the *Britiſh* Miniſters the Anſwer, " ſign'd by the King of *France*, to the Demands " laſt ſent over from *England*; which Demands " and Anſwers were made the ſecret Prelimi- " nary Articles betwixt *Great Britain* and *France*, " and were ſign'd as ſuch, *September* 27, 1711. " by Monſ. *Meſnager* on the Part of *France*; " and the Acceptation of them by the Lord " *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* on the Part of " *Great Britain*. " The *Committee* farther takes Notice, " That *St. John* repreſented to the " Queen, as the unanimous Opinion of her " Servants, that a Warrant ſhould paſs the Great " Seal to empower the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. to " treat with Monſ. *Meſnager*: Accordingly a " Warrant was drawn up, but never had the " Great Seal to it; and 'tis obſervable, that it

" was

" was dated the 17th of *September*, tho' not pre-
" pared nor thought of till the 20th; which
" Antedating, says the *Committee*, seems design'd
" to justify the Ministry in Conferring with the
" Queen's Enemies, previous to the Warrant,
" which never pass'd into a Legal Authority.
" These secret Negotiations were begun and
" carried on from the 11th of *April* to the 25th
" of *September*, 1711. without any Powers or
" written Authority from the Queen; and after
" all, tho' it was represented to the Queen, that
" full Powers were necessary to authorize them
" to treat, yet these Powers were laid aside, and
" the Acceptation of the Preliminaries sign'd by
" the Lord *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, by
" Virtue of a Warrant directed to them two
" only, sign'd by the Queen at Top and Bot-
" tom, and counterSign'd by no Body: So that
" those Ministers seem'd conscious to themselves
" what was doing, who so readily conferr'd
" with the Ministers of *France*, till this separate
" Negotiation was brought to Maturity, but
" avoided to become Parties, when the Treaty
" was to be sign'd and executed."

'TIS granted, when the General Preliminaries were agreed to here in *England*, they were transmitted to *Holland*, as the Foundation of a Peace; but then it's to be consider'd, there were sign'd at the same time special Preliminaries between *Great Britain* and *France*, in which it was a fundamental Condition, That they should be conceal'd with the utmost Secresy; and tho' a sham Treaty was carried on at *Utrecht* upon the Foot of the General Preliminaries, yet all was govern'd according to the Secret Articles, and even during the Negotiations at the General Congress, every thing was transacted by our Managers at home. " The Allies, says

" the

" the *Committee*, giving in their ſpecifick De-
" mands, was not to be avoided; but the *French*
" were to gain as much Time as poſſibly they
" could by unneceſſary Delays, and at laſt inſiſt
" upon ſuch a Method of anſwering theſe De-
" mands, as they knew the Allies could not
" comply with. In the mean time the Nego-
" tiations were carrying on directly between
" *England* and *France*, or rather all the Condi-
" tions dictated and preſcrib'd by *France*, whilſt
" the Allies were amus'd with a Diſpute about
" the Method of Anſwering. All the Particu-
" lars that concern'd even the Intereſt of the
" Allies were tranſacted between the Miniſters
" of *England* and *France*, under the higheſt
" Obligations of Secreſy. The *Dutch* are preſs'd
" to come into the Queen's Meaſures, without
" knowing what the Queen's Meaſures were,
" *&c.*" So that the Peace, notwithſtanding the Formality of a Treaty, was in a great Meaſure made by a few Miniſters of *England* and *France*; and how honourable this was, may be judg'd by any one that will read the 8th Article of the Grand Alliance, in which it was agreed, *Quod neutri partium fas ſit, Bello ſemel ſucepto, de Pace cum Hoſte tractare, niſi conjunctim, & communicatis Conſiliis cum altera parte*, &c. *That none of the Parties, after a War is begun, ſhall treat with the Enemy about Peace, but in Conjunction, and by the mutual Conſent of all the Allies.*

'TIS not my Province, as I ſaid, to characterize the Peace; I'm afraid the Ruin of *Britain* and the Liberties of *Europe* would have proclaim'd it to the World in too ſenſible a manner, had not Providence interpos'd: But every Body may obſerve, that as the Manner of Treating, ſo the Terms of it were directly againſt the Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance;

ance; which, after the Clauſe mention'd before, contains, *That none of the Parties ſhould make Peace, till they had obtain'd a convenient Satisfaction for the Emperour, and a Security for the Dominions and Trade of the* Engliſh *and* Dutch, *and procured that the Crowns of* France *and* Spain *ſhould never be united under the ſame Prince; and that the* French *never be Maſters of the* Indies, *ſubject to* Spain, *or be admitted to trade in that Country directly, or indirectly; nor before they have obtain'd for the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *thoſe Rights, Privileges and Franchiſes, for their Trade in* Spain *and the* Mediterranean, *which were enjoy'd by* Charles II. *by virtue of Treaties, Cuſtom, or any other Title whatſoever.*

NOW this, as it was a ſolemn Stipulation, the Neceſſity of it was own'd in many Speeches from the Throne, and Addreſſes from both Houſes of Parliament, and yet all overlook'd by our Peace-makers.

BUT to let theſe Things paſs, methinks it looks ſuſpicious enough, and may ſomewhat help thoſe to form a Judgment of this Peace, who can't otherwiſe do it, that whilſt the trueſt Friends of the Nation remonſtrated againſt it, it was applauded by our avow'd Enemies. The *Secret Committee* takes Notice, "That in the "very Infancy of the Negotiation, the Trade "of the World, and the entire *Spaniſh* Monar-"chy, which had coſt ſo many Millions, and "the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, without be-"ing once inſiſted upon, were given up by the "*Engliſh* Miniſtry to the Houſe of *Bourbon.*" And when it came to be debated in Parliament, ſeveral had the Courage to ſhew its Deformity; which they did with ſuch Reaſon and Argument, that nothing but Numbers could anſwer; repreſenting, that by this Treaty, the Empe-

rour,

rour, the *Dutch* and *Hanoverians* were betray'd; the brave *Barcelonians* were to be ſacrific'd; the Intereſt of the *French* Proteſtants given up; the Trade to Foreign Parts ſunk and loſt; and 'tis ſaid, when 'twas voted to be glorious, ſafe and advantageous to the Nation, ſome of theſe zealous Patriots wept. He was one of the greateſt Men in *Britain*, and indeed in *Europe*, and the moſt competent Judge of this Affair, that declared in the Houſe of Lords, *That the Meaſures enter'd into, and purſu'd in* England *during this Treaty, were contrary to her Majeſty's Engagements with her Allies; did ſully the Triumphs and Glories of her Reign; and would render the* Engliſh *Name odious to all other Nations.* The memorable Speech of Mr. *Corver*, a Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, may not be impertinent here. Upon the News of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Declaration about a Ceſſation of Arms, this Gentleman (now Eighty four Years of Age) in an Aſſembly held for Conſultation, warmly preſs'd them to continue the War; repreſenting, that without that their Commonwealth was like to be entirely ruin'd. He added, *He was an old Man, upwards of Four-ſcore, and had ſeen far more difficult Times; nay, he had ſeen the* French *at their very Gates, but, by the Bleſſing of God on their Firmneſs and Reſolution, they had hitherto preſerv'd their Liberties: That he had no private Intereſt in Trade, and had no other Concern, but for the Good of his Country, and the Common Cauſe; yet he would give half what he had in the World, nay all, rather than ſuffer the Loſs of their Liberties: But if at laſt,* ſays he, *we are overpower'd, then let us lay our Cities under Water, betake ourſelves to our Ships, and ſail to the* East-Indies, *and let thoſe that ſee our Country laid waſte ſay, There liv'd a People who choſe to loſe their Country, rather than their Liberties.*

Burgomaſter *Corver's* Speech about continuing the War.

berties. This Wise and Great Man thought that all lay at Stake, and was going to be sacrific'd by such a Peace as was impos'd upon them; and the same Apprehensions were common among those that had any true Understanding of the Interest of *Europe*, and Concern for its Liberties; and are so well express'd in a Letter to the Bishop of *Bristol*, dated *July* 20, 1712. said to be written by a Protestant Refugee, that I shall transcribe a few Passages out of it.

MY LORD,

ALL good Protestants in Europe *are under inexpressible Astonishment, to see a famous Bishop of their Communion employ'd in negotiating a Peace, on a Foot which the declar'd Enemy of Religion and Liberty has himself dictated; to behold, that so much Christian Blood was spilt, that such vast Treasures were spent, and so many Victories gain'd, to no other purpose than to encrease the exorbitant Power of that dreadful Enemy.*

AND indeed, no impartial Men can think any other, but that this Peace was contriv'd on purpose to retrieve the Affairs of *France*, that the Authors of it might have Assistance from thence to accomplish the Work they had to do. It was a close Argument of a Great Man, when the Question, *Whether the Nation was in Danger?* was debated in the House of Commons, which he brought for the Affirmative, *viz.* That as it was universally acknowledg'd that it had been the *French* King's Intention, so it was still his Interest; and he has it now more than ever in his Power to restore the Pretender. Such were the Sentiments of our Friends concerning the Peace.

AND

AND it ſeems in this we have the Concurrence of Enemies; indeed our Enemies at home extoll'd it, and us'd all manner of little Arts to make it paſs, and it muſt be own'd, it ſucceeded to their Deſire with a Party that they had prepar'd to receive any thing, and to ſay after them without making Stops: But in the mean time our Enemies abroad triumphed in our Folly, and even inſulted us in their Flatteries; in *France* they could not ſuppreſs the Reſentments of the Favours we had done them, and what Thoughts *Philip* the King of *Spain* had thereof, may be learnt from his Declaration to his Council. *Though*, ſays he, *I have communicated to you on other Occaſions divers Things relating to the Peace, yet I have always endeavour'd to keep ſome Paſſages ſecret till the Peace ſhould be brought to a Certainty. At preſent, when, by the Divine Aſſiſtance, it is entirely ſettled with* England, *I think fit to communicate to you the principal Articles of which it conſiſts, becauſe the Advantages that reſult from it are altogether favourable to me; for not one Foot of Ground in the* Indies *is to be diſmember'd from the* Spaniſh *Monarchy; and I hope to poſſeſs thoſe Countries entire, in the ſame manner they were poſſeſs'd by my late Uncle of Glorious Memory*, &c. And ſome time after we find him paying his Compliment, by the Marquis *de Monteleone*, to the Queen of *Great Britain* in the following Terms:

King *Philip* exceedingly pleas'd with the Peace.

MADAM,

THE Catholick King my Maſter has ſent me to give you a Thouſand Thanks for the great Pains you have been pleas'd to take in procuring Peace to Europe. *The whole* Spaniſh *Nation in particular owe their Lives to your Majeſty; for had the War continu'd, there's not one faithful* Spaniard

who

who would not have ſpent the laſt Drop of his Blood in my Maſter's Quarrel.

To which the Queen was pleas'd to anſwer,

SIR,

I Thank my Brother, the King of Spain, *for the Complement he makes me by you. I think my ſelf very happy in being able to contribute to the Safety of ſo brave a Nation, and ſo loyal a People.*

Now ſhould a Man be never ſo meanly qualify'd to judge of the Peace; had he never read or heard of the Conditions of it; ſhould he be wholly ignorant how much * worſe 'tis than

* It will ſcarce be ſolv'd by the ableſt Critick, without taking in the Grand Arcanum of the late Managers (*viz.* That it was not ſo much the Intereſt of *Britain*, as the reſtoring and obliging the *French* for future Service, that was to be regarded in the Peace) how it came to paſs, that notwithſtanding the further Advantages the Allies had obtain'd over the Enemy ſince the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, by taking the ſtrong Towns of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Bouchain*, yet the Terms accepted at the *Utrecht* Treaty were far worſe than thoſe offer'd at *Gertruydenberg*. In the former Treaty, *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were to be given to the Emperour, by this they are entirely given up to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; by the former Treaty *Strasburg* was to be deliver'd up to the Emperour, by the latter it remains in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, and thereby a Door open'd to them at any time into the Heart of the Empire; by the former Treaty the Towns of *Liſle*, *Conde* and *Maubeuge*, were to be given the *Dutch*, as part of their Barrier, which by this Treaty the *French* keep in their own Hands; by the former Treaty *Newfoundland* was wholly given up to the *Engliſh*, by this the *French* reſerve a Liberty of catching and drying Fiſh, and to erect Stages and Huts for that purpoſe; by the former (the *Gertruydenberg* Treaty) *Dunkirk* was not only to be raz'd, and the Harbour fill'd up, but it was agreed, that the Fortifications ſhould never be rebuilt, or the Harbour again made navigable directly or indirectly; which laſt Clauſe by the *Utrecht* Treaty is left out; ſo that now there's room left for another Harbour as commodious as the former, a new Canal, Moles and Sluices, as advantageous to them, and as prejudicial to us, as the old, and all this conſiſtent with their Stipulations; juſt as if one ſhould covenant with a Neighbour to ſtop up a Window which overlooks his Gar-

than what was once offer'd, how much *Britain* ſuffer'd in its Trade, and what a mighty Acceſſion of Power is made to the moſt inveterate Enemies of the Nation hereby, he could not forbear entertaining but indifferent Thoughts of a Peace, that our Friends contemplate with ſo much Indignation, and our Enemies with Triumph.

LET me add, it was made in the midſt of Victory and Succeſs, when the Enemy was prepar'd to ſend us a Blank, and ſubmit to any Terms we ſhould preſcribe. The Name of *Marlborough* was ſo terrible to a *French* Man, that 'tis probable, had the former Miniſtry been continu'd, and the former Meaſures been purſu'd, they durſt never have look'd him in the Face more, nor have had any further Correſpondence with him, unleſs by Trumpeters deſiring Capitulations; and yet at this Juncture we encourage a Treaty, leave *France* to dictate the Terms, and comply with ſuch as infer the Loſs of all we had gain'd. I can't expreſs this in better Words, nor with ſo good Authority, as by a few Paſſages in his Majeſty's firſt Speech to his Parliament.

IT were to be wiſh'd, ſays he, *that the unparallel'd Succeſſes of a War ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported by this Nation, in order to procure a*

den, and at the ſame time break a Hole thro' the Wall, and ſet up a new Window. Add to this, that beſides the Ceſſation of the entire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the victorious Allies were oblig'd by this Treaty, to give three times as much as they receiv'd, as the Principality of *Catalonia, Majorca, Sardinia, Cologne, Liege, Liſle, Bethune, Aire,* &c. So that our Managers exchang'd whole Provinces for Towns, and in Value three for one. (Vid. *Withers*'s Whigs vindicated.) I might add, the moſt important Branch of our Trade, that with *Spain*, was ſo far ruin'd, that, as the Merchants repreſented to the Houſe of Lords, we can't trade thither without Twenty five *per Cent.* Loſs.

good

good Peace, had been attended with a ſuitable Concluſion; but 'tis with Concern I muſt tell you, that ſome Conditions even of this Peace, eſſential to the Security and Trade of Great Britain, *are not yet duly executed; and the Performance of the whole may be look'd upon as precarious, until we ſhall have form'd defenſive Alliances to guaranty the preſent Treaties; a great Part of our Trade is render'd impracticable: This, if not retriev'd, muſt deſtroy our Manufactures, and ruin our Navigation: The publick Debts are very great, and ſurprizingly encreas'd ever ſince the fatal Ceſſation of Arms.*

IT was after unparallell'd Succeſſes that this Peace was obtain'd, as the Crown of all our Victories for Eight glorious Campaigns: Nay, in the very midſt of Victory and Triumph, as was ſaid, we have ſought Peace, ſtopt the conquering Hand, and yielded to a conquer'd Enemy. 'Tis remarkable, that at the very Time of the Ceſſation, Prince *Eugene* thought himſelf in a Condition to inſult the Enemy in his own Country: Which he did by Major General *Groveſtein*, Governour of *Bouchain*; who, being ſent with a Detachment of about fifteen hundred Horſe, Dragoons and Huſſars, invaded *France*, and plunder'd and burnt ſeveral open Towns and Villages of *Campagne*, and the County of *Metz*, ſtruck Terror and Conſternation as far as *Paris*, and brought away a great Number of Hoſtages for Contribution; the Siege of *Queſnoy* being at the ſame time carried on with extraordinary Vigour and Succeſs. And whilſt Things were in this State, the *Britiſh* General, who knew he had other Work to do than to fight the *French*, and ſpoil their new Friends, effectually diſconcerts all Meaſures, and breaks off from the Allies. "The Duke

" of *Ormond*, ſays an Hiſtorian, foreſeeing that " the Reduction of *Queſnoy* might ſwell the " Hopes of the Allies, and obſtruct the Peace, " ſent to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, that his " Troops ſhould continue in the Army, provi- " ded he would give over the Siege of *Queſnoy*: " Which tho' his Highneſs refus'd (anſwering, " that inſtead of putting a Stop to the Siege, " he would cauſe it to be proſecuted with all " imaginable Vigour, and that he would let " his Grace be Eye-Witneſs of another Expe- " dition, immediately after the taking of that " Town) yet nothing of Moment could be " done by him, being thus deſerted and be- " tray'd to the Enemy." And from henceforth all Correſpondence ceas'd between the two Generals: And ſoon after, *July* 16, the Confederate Army * ſeparated; Prince *Eugene*, and ſuch

* The States had Intimation of this before-hand. In their Letter to the Queen, dated *June* 5, 1712. they take notice how much they were ſurpriz'd with two Declarations, one after another; the firſt by the Duke of *Ormond*, that he could undertake nothing without new Orders from her Majeſty; the other by the Biſhop of *Briſtol* at *Utrecht*, that perceiving the States would not act in concert with the Miniſters of *Britain* on the Subject of Peace, the Queen would take her Meaſures apart, and that ſhe looks upon herſelf to be under no Obligations with reſpect to the States; and ſpeaking of the Conduct of her General, they expoſtulate with her Majeſty in the following Terms: " We pray your Majeſty, ſay " they, to conſider, whether " we have not juſt Ground to " be ſurpriz'd, when we ſee " a Stop put, by an Order in " your Majeſty's Name, with- " out our Knowledge, to the " Operations of the Confede- " rate Army; the fineſt and " ſtrongeſt which, perhaps, " has been in the Field du- " ring the whole Courſe of " the War, and provided with " all Neceſſaries to act with " Vigour; and this after they " had march'd, according to " the Reſolution taken in con- " cert with your Majeſty's " General, almoſt up to the " Enemy, with a great Supe- " riority both as to the Num- " ber and Goodneſs of Troops, " and animated with a noble " Courage and Zeal to acquit " themſelves bravely." They add, " We flatter ourſelves " with the Hopes the Duke " of *Ormond* has given us, that " in a few Days he expects " other Orders: But in the " mean time we are ſorry to " ſee

such of the Auxiliaries as would continue with him, marching towards *Landrecy*, which Place he inveſted; whilſt the Duke of *Ormond* march'd with the *Britiſh* Troops towards *Ghent*, according to an Agreement, as was reported, between the Earl of *Straffard* and *Villars* (the Earl having been incognito in the *French* Camp before the Ceſſation of Arms) that the *Britiſh* Troops ſhould make themſelves Maſters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, wherby they ſhould command the Navigation of the *Lys* and the *Scheld*, and be able to put an effectual Stop to any further Progreſs of the Confederate Army under the Prince of *Savoy*, in Caſe the *French* General found it impracticable to relieve *Landrecy*.

So that the great Care and Concern of our Managers was, that the Allies ſhould make no further Progreſs againſt the Enemy, ſhould gain no further Advantages; but that being perfidiouſly abandon'd by us, and thereby brought into Straits, they ſhould be forc'd into the Meaſures of *France* for a general Peace: And tho' ſome of the brave Allies were rather for venturing all their Treaſure and Blood, than ſubmit to Terms ſo diſhonourable as were impos'd upon them; yet after the fatal Battel of *Denain*, the Loſs of *Marchiennes*, *Doway*, *Queſnoy* and *Bouchain*, all which fell into the Enemies Hands, they thought it adviſable to ſtand out no longer, but make as good Terms for themſelves as they could; and ſo a Peace is formally concluded at

" ſee one of the fineſt Opportunities loſt " They juſtly complain, that this was after many Aſſurances, and theſe lately repeated, *That her Majeſty's Troops ſhould act againſt the Common Enemy till the War was concluded by a General Peace*; and, *That they ſhould act with their uſual Vigour, as was promiſed them in the Queen's Name by the Duke of* Ormond *himſelf*. But there had been ſecret Engagements of a different Nature entred into with other Folks, which were to overrule theſe Forms of ſpeaking.

Utrecht (the Conditions of which had been concerted long before between the *Engliſh* Miniſtry and that of *France*) in which *France* was more than reſtor'd to its former Strength and Glory; in which *France* and *Spain* were to have all, and the Allies loſe all they had been fighting for; only *England*, in Conſideration of her betraying her Allies, and ſacrificing her Honour and Intereſt to *France*, ſhould have powerful Succours from thence to defend the Peace-makers, and aſſiſt them in accompliſhing their grand Deſign, *viz.* the deſtroying the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and ſetting the Pretender upon the Throne.

The Allies and the late Miniſtry loaded with Reproach.

THE better to blind the Eyes of the Nation, and make all theſe ſtrange Things paſs current, a Cry is rais'd and induſtriouſly ſpread againſt our Allies (eſpecially the *Dutch*) and the late Miniſtry, both which are loaded with Reproach, and made odious among unthinking People. The *Dutch* are ſolemnly arraign'd by the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, *February* 5, 1712. as being deficient in their Quota in carrying on the War; and tho' in the Judgment of all impartial Perſons, the Aſperſion was effectually wip'd off in a Memorial from the States to the Queen on that Head; however the Accuſation anſwer'd its End with thoſe it was deſign'd to influence, gave them an Handle to defame the *Dutch*, ſerv'd for a Bone of Contention between us and them. The *Memorial* is too large to have a Place here; a Paragraph or two however I ſhall inſert, which will ſhew ſomething of the Nature and Tendency of the Charge brought againſt them. They alledge, "That theſe Reſolutions of the Houſe of Com-
"mons are drawn up in Form of Deciſions, at
"a Time when an Union and Harmony be-
"tween

" tween *Great Britain* and the States is more " neceſſary than ever.——And tho' it be im- " poſſible that the ſaid Reſolutions ſhould fail " of making a diſadvantageous Impreſſion of " the States, upon thoſe who have not an exact " Knowledge of Affairs; yet they muſt loſe " very much of their Force, when 'tis conſi- " der'd that the Reſolutions were form'd, and " that the States General ſo poſitively con- " demn'd by them, without having any Op- " portunity to make known what they had to " ſay on the Subject, and to remove the Preju- " dices of the Houſe by neceſſary Informations " and Explications."

THE Miniſtry is ſeverely laſh'd, as purſuing Meaſures deſtructive to their Country. The War itſelf is repreſented not only as unneceſſary, but intolerable; the chief Burden being thrown on us, whilſt others went away with the Gain: Hence it was call'd a Conſuming Land-War, and thoſe that were for carrying it on were ſtigmatiz'd as a People that delight in War, which were Phraſes made mighty ſignificant among the Party: The Duke of *Marlborough* is accus'd of prolonging the War for his own private Advantage; and not only ſo, but of defrauding the Soldiers of their Bread, (tho' at the ſame Time he was their Darling and Idol) and the Publick of vaſt Sums, and particularly of the Two and Half *per Cent.* and yet all this while nothing ever could be made appear againſt him, but the Malice of his Accuſers. The Lord *Townſend* is voted an Enemy to his Country, *February* 14, 1711-12. on the Account of the Barrier-Treaty; which he made, ſay they, under Colour of ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion; an unpardonable Crime! The Earl of *Godolphin* is ac-

cus'd of * Robbing the *Exchequer* of no leſs than Thirty five Millions Sterling, tho' Thirty one Millions were preſently ſtruck off, for which Accounts were ſtated and ready to paſs; and the reſt appear'd expended for publick Service; but *Fortiter calumniare, & aliquid hærebit*, is a Maxim ſome had learnt; *Throw a great deal of Dirt, and ſome will ſtick:* The firſt Impreſſions Calumny leaves, are not eaſily worn out: And it was thought of uſe at that Time to ſet ſuch Stories as theſe on Foot, and they had enow prepar'd to receive and ſpread them.

OF the ſame Complection, and ſerving the ſame Purpoſe, was the Contrivance of little

* This being the common Topick of Slander made uſe of to ſlur the Whig Miniſtry, viz. *That they had plunder'd the Nation, and enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of it*, it may not be amiſs to examine it a little. The Deſign of this Pretence is eaſily ſeen thro': The People were not only to believe that Peace was abſolutely neceſſary (the Frauds of former Managers having impoveriſh'd the Nation to that degree, that it could no longer bear the Charge of the War) but their Eyes were to be dazled, whilſt the preſent Managers did all the Miſchief they falſly accus'd others of: Like a notable Juggler, that cries out in a Croud of Pocket-picking, on purpoſe that in the Uproar he himſelf may pick Pockets unſuſpected. The Pretence itſelf, that the Whigs cheated the Nation whilſt they were in Power, is ſo well anſwer'd by Mr. *Withers* in his little Pamphlet call'd, *The Whigs Vindicated*, that I need only deſire the Reader, that has that Piece, to read half a Score Pages (from page 31 to 42.) for his full Satisfaction in this Matter. Among other things, the Author has given us the particular Sums granted by Parliament every Year, from the Year 1702 to 1714. From which Calculation 'tis evident, (1.) That tho' the Whig Miniſtry received vaſt Sums of Money, they accounted for all of it. (2.) That in the Years 1711 and 1712, ſeveral Hundred Thouſand Pounds were granted to the Tory Miniſtry, more than the Whigs ever had any Year when they expended moſt. (3.) The Whigs laid out their Money in ſupporting a glorious, ſucceſsful War, and for the Honour and Intereſt of their Country: How the Tories employ'd theirs, is now pretty well underſtood; 'tis certain it was neither in fighting the Nation's Enemies, nor paying off its Debts; our Debts being ſome Millions more when the Queen died, than they were in the Year 1710; and, as his Majeſty takes Notice in his Speech, ſurprizingly encreas'd ſince the fatal Ceſſation of Arms.

Sham

Sham Plots father'd upon the Whigs: The Duke of *Marlborough* could not retire into the Country and divert himſelf with a few of his Friends, but Umbrage was taken at it, as if he was carrying on Deſigns againſt the Government; and mercenary Pens were employ'd to libel him, which was thought by ſome to be one main Cauſe of his leaving the Nation. When a Company of Lords and Gentlemen, that honour'd the Memory of King *William*, met together to celebrate his Birth-Day, at the *Three Tuns* and *Rummer* Tavern in *Gracechurch-ſtreet*; this is preſently turn'd into a Plot, and repreſented as ſuch to the Nation in the *Poſt-Boy* of *November* 8, 1712. "*Tueſday* laſt (ſays "the poor Tool, the Author) being King *Wil-*"*liam*'s Birth-Day, a Deſign was laid here "to raiſe the Mob in favour of the factious "and turbulent Party, who approve themſelves "true Sons of *Belial*, in making it their Bu-"ſineſs to diſturb and diſquiet the Govern-"ment; which, after all their Efforts, they "have found too firmly eſtabliſh'd for them "to change." He adds, "The following "Account of the helliſh Deſign of the *Engliſh* "*Republicans* and *Scotch Cameronians* will ap-"pear unqueſtionably true, being taken upon "Examination before the Right Honourable "the Lord-Mayor, and other Her Majeſty's "Juſtices of the Peace for this City." And after a long Story, that, even as the Man himſelf tells it, has little in it; he concludes, "It cannot be ſuppos'd that ſo many ſeem-"ing Gentlemen and Perſons of Diſtinction "ſhould meet in the Manner they did, and "in a Place where they thought themſelves "ſecure from being known, (*i. e.* in the Heart "of the City with a Bonfire before the Door)

"without

"without ſome very ill Intention: And as "ſuch Proceedings evince the Faction would "ſtick at nothing to gain over the Mob to "their Side; ſo we congratulate our Country "upon this their reiterated Diſappointment, "and hope they will always meet with the "like Succeſs." Nay, ſo buſy were the Whigs in plotting, that they follow the Queen to *Windſor* to aſſaſſinate her there, as was inſinuated upon occaſion of three young *German* Gentlemen walking about the Caſtle, which they went to view: It ſeems, as they walk'd, they were challeng'd by a Centinel, as uſual; but not underſtanding *Engliſh*, and thinking they had come too near the Queen's Houſe, and thereby given Offence, inſtead of anſwering (to they knew not what) they betook themſelves to their Heels, and went to their Lodging. And this poor Buſineſs afforded ſome ingenious Men ſufficient Materials for a Whig Plot.

ANOTHER horrid Whig Deſign againſt the Life of Her Majeſty was to be executed at St. *Paul*'s: To which purpoſe the Gallery where Her Majeſty was ſeated was to fall, the Screws that faſten'd it being taken out.

BUT the moſt deſperate of all was the *Band-Box Plot*, a horrid Conſpiracy againſt the precious Life of the Lord-Treaſurer, or at leaſt a Deſign to blow his Eyes out by Gunpowder. The firſt Account of this Plot was thus: That a Band-Box was ſent to the Lord-Treaſurer, with three Piſtols charg'd and cock'd, whoſe Trickers being tied to a Packthread, faſten'd to the Cover; the Piſtols would have gone off and done Execution at the opening of the Box, had not the ſame been miraculouſly prevented by Dr. *Swift*; who being then in the Room, while his Lordſhip was Shaving, ſuſpected

ſuſpected ſomething, and open'd the Box in ſuch a Manner, that no Miſchief was done.

SOON after Care was taken to publiſh the Story in the *Poſt-Boy* in a different Dreſs, that other Report (of which Dr. *Swift* was the Spreader) not meeting with all the Credit that was deſired; and therefore *Truſty Abel*, or ſome for him, gives it a new Turn to make it more plauſible. Add to this the Cry of the Church's Danger, which the meereſt Brutes in the Nation roar'd out in every Alehouſe, tho' they knew nothing of any Church, but what's made of Stone and Mortar, nor belong to any but the Synagogue of Satan.

AND by ſuch Arts as theſe they endeavour'd to prejudice the Mob in their Favour (and, indeed, if fooliſh Credulity be the Character of a Mob, they turn'd the main Body of the Nation into one) and bring an Odium upon a Party, whom they knew were aware of their Deſigns, and reſolv'd to ſtand in their Way, if they could: Hereby they inſinuated themſelves as the only Patriots of their Country, zealous to reſcue it out of the Hands of thoſe that meant to deſtroy it; and by thus amuſing the Nation with Fears of imaginary Dangers, the Cry of Sham Plots, and a Pretence of detecting the Villany of others, they gain'd an Opportunity of acting their own, and carrying on a real Plot, as has ſince appear'd to the Conviction of all but thoſe that were in it, and their dull ſtupid Dependents that have learnt to ſay as they are bid.

THAT all Things might be in Readineſs for their Purpoſe, Care is taken to diſgrace and incapacitate the trueſt and moſt zealous Friends of the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and at the ſame time to commit all Power and Truſt

The trueſt Friends of *Hanover* diſgrac'd, and all Places of Truſt fill'd with Jacobites.

to

to its avow'd Enemies, who are diſtinguiſh'd with ſpecial Marks of Favour throughout her Majeſty's Dominions: The Low-Churchmen are blaſted by impure Breath, and branded as Falſe Brethren, and not thought fit to be employ'd in any Office, ſo much as of a Juſtice of Peace: The Diſſenters are mark'd for Ruin, are diſabled, not only from ſerving their Country in higher Poſts, but their Neighbours or Families in the Quality of Schoolmaſters; the former by the Bill to prevent Hypocriſy, the latter by the Bill againſt Schiſm.

IN *Scotland*, the Presbyterians are brought under new Hardſhips and Difficulties, whilſt Epiſcopalians were careſs'd, and as a Token of the Government's Affection, had the Biſhops Lands beſtow'd upon them for their Maintenance, tho' the former were known and conſider'd as the avow'd Enemies of the Pretender, the latter of the Houſe of *Hanover*; for whom they refus'd to pray, as they generally did (if not univerſally) for the Queen. Three famous Incendiaries in the Three Nations, *Sacheverell* in *England*, *Higgins* in *Ireland*, and *Greenſhields* in *Scotland*, were puniſh'd only with Preferments; the Officers of the Army are cloſetted to know whether they'll ſerve her Majeſty without asking Queſtions; and ſuch as had more Senſe of Honour and Conſcience, and Love to their Country, than to be made Tools of to ruin it (and many ſuch there were) found no Favour: The Places of Truſt Civil and Military, the Lieutenancy of Counties, and Government of Towns, were fill'd and filling with ſuch as were thought inclinable to the new Meaſures; *Chelſea*-College was provided with a great Number of Invalids,

Invalids, ſuch as were lame only in their Morals, and would have been able to have handled their Arms, had the Pretender come, for whoſe Service they were ſuppos'd to be there quarter'd. Great Numbers were liſted into the Pretender's Service, and an Army raiſing for him in *Britain* and *Ireland*: And, not to trouble the Reader with any more particular Detail of ſuch Scandals, I ſhall only take Notice, that Sir *Patrick Lawleſs*, a Sort of an Envoy from the Pretender, was admitted into the Queen's Cloſet, whilſt the Miniſters of *Hanover* could ſcarce be endur'd within Sight of the Court: Which was ſo ſhocking, even to the honeſter Tories, that Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, when he declar'd his Opinion in the Houſe of Commons (of which he was then Speaker) that the Nation was in Danger, took Occaſion to mention this Particular with a juſt Cenſure.

AND this Length they had brought Things; thus ripe were their Preparations; ſo that nothing ſeem'd wanting but a favourable Opportunity to finiſh their Work: Which whilſt they were waiting for, the Divine Providence, that had ſo often ſaved a ſinking Nation, ſteps in, and *Auguſt* 1, 1714. takes away the unhappy Princeſs, they had ſo long and ſo groſly abus'd; and that ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo much Surprize upon them, as ſtrangely perplex'd their Counſels, and threw them into the utmoſt Confuſion.

HOW the Plot was to be executed, Time may more fully diſcover: Some talk of the Pretender's being aſſociated with the Queen in her Government, others of her reſigning to him; and it ſeems it has been affirm'd, that there was a Deſign of propoſing it to

the

the Parliament, that they ſhould empower her Majeſty to diſpoſe of the Crown, and name her Succeſſor by Will: But 'tis more probable their Scheme was ſomething to this purpoſe, "That the Queen was to live till they had "adjuſted Matters both at Home and Abroad, "and got all Things in Readineſs; and that "when the Time ſhould come that ſhe muſt "die, the Youngſter was to pop out from "behind the Curtain, and uſurp the Throne, "where they were reſolv'd to ſupport him "if they could." But whether this was their Plan, or not, the Deſign in General is undoubted, and the true Proteſtant and true *Briton*, will remember with Gratitude how ſeaſonably and remarkably it was blaſted, and that by the immediate Hand of Heaven.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Jacobites ſtill keep up the Spirit of the Party, encourage Tumults, Mobs, and at laſt take up Arms for the Pretender. The Earl of Mar *ſets up his Standard. His Declaration and Manifeſto. The ſame Party in* England *prepare for an Inſurrection, but diſappointed in the Weſt. The Inſurrection in* Northumberland. *The Deſign upon* Newcaſtle. *Their March to* Preſton, *and Surrender there. The Battle at* Dumblain. *The Arrival of the Pretender in* Scotland. *The Debates at* Perth. *The Flight of the Pretender from* Scotland. *The Execution of the Earl of* Derwentwater. *The Seizing of Count* Gyllenborg. *Another Attempt on* Scotland. *Remarkable Strokes of Providence in the whole Series of National Deliverances.*

THE Faction being thus balk'd, many began to think they would yield to Deſpair, and that their Cauſe and Intereſt would die away in a little Time; but they ſoon made it appear that their Diſappointment did but enrage them, and therefore inſtead of quitting

quitting the Project, they purſue it with the more Zeal, or rather Madneſs, as if they had all joyn'd in the profane Oath of a noted Eccleſiaſtick among them; who, when their Troubles were coming upon them, ſwore by his Maker they muſt and would have the Pretender. For a while, indeed, they ſuppreſs their Reſentments, and conceal their Deſigns; and, with an Hypocriſy never outdone by the vileſt on Earth, own his preſent Majeſty's Title; ſwear to his Government; and ſolemnly abjure the Pretender: But this was only to gain Time; Miſchief was in their Heart; they were under Engagements another way; and, it ſeems, were willing to recommend themſelves to their new Friends and Confederates, the Jeſuits, by practiſing their Divinity, take an Oath with a preſent actual Intention of breaking it: Bluſh, O ye Heavens, at theſe Monſters! But, Lord, *Hallowed be thy Name!*

THEIR Plot, I ſay, ſtill went on, and all their Engines were ſet a going to make it effectual; his Majeſty's Family and Adminiſtration are aſpers'd in the rudeſt manner; a furious Mob is ſpirited up in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, who committed the utmoſt Outrages and Inſults in the Face of the Government, railing at the King, and revenging themſelves on the Diſſenters, whoſe Meeting-Houſes they pull'd down to the Number of about Sixty: And in the mean time, whilſt theſe meaner Tools of the Faction are employ'd in this lower Service, their Chiefs are aſſociating, and taking in Subſcriptions for the Uſe of the Pretender; for whom they preſently take up Arms, and appear in open Rebellion. And this being their lateſt Effort (may it be the laſt!) I muſt here give ſome Account of the Riſe, Progreſs and Iſſue of it, tho' very briefly,

briefly, referring for the Particulars at large to such Narratives as are confin'd to the Subject.

THE Head of the Rebellion in *Britain* was the famous Earl of *Mar*, Secretary of State to Queen *Anne*: Upon the King's Acceſſion, he not only takes the uſual Oaths to his Majeſty, among the reſt of his good Subjects, but gives particular Aſſurances of his Loyalty under his own Hand, begging his Majeſty not to believe any Miſrepreſentations of him, which nothing but Party Hatred, and his Zeal to the Intereſt of the Crown did occaſion; adding, *Your Majeſty ſhall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a Subject and Servant, as ever any of my Family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Miſtreſs the Queen.* He concludes, *As your Acceſſion to the Crown has been quiet and peaceable, may your Majeſty's Reign be long and proſperous, and your People ſoon have the Happineſs and Satisfaction of your Preſence among them, which are the earneſt and fervent Wiſhes of him, who is, with the humbleſt Duty and Reſpect, Sir, your Majeſty's moſt faithful, moſt dutiful,* &c. The Rebellion headed by the Earl of *Mar*.

IN purſuance of theſe fine Promiſes, and as a Proof of his ſingular Fidelity, *&c.* his Lordſhip, about the Beginning of *Auguſt*, 1715. embark'd with Major General *Hamilton*, on Board a Collier in the *Thames*, and in a few Days arriv'd at *Newcaſtle*, where he hir'd a Veſſel that ſet him and his Company on Shore at *Creil* in the Shire of *Fife*: Soon after his Landing, moſt of the *Scotch* Noblemen, avowedly diſaffected to the preſent Government, reſorted to him; as, the Marquiſſes of *Huntley* and *Tullibardine*, the Earls of *Nithiſdale*, *Linlithgow*, *Southesk*, *Mariſhal* and *Carnwarth*, the Viſcounts of *Kilſyth*, *Kenmure*, *Kingſtone* and *Stormount*, and the Lords *Drummond* and *Rollo*: Theſe got together

all the Forces they could; and, having receiv'd a Veſſel from *Havre-de-Grace* laden with Arms and Ammunition, and ſoon after another with ſeveral Officers on Board, who gave them Aſſurance that the Pretender would ſoon be with them in Perſon, on the 6th of *September* the Earl of *Mar* ſet up the Pretender's Standard, and caus'd him to be proclaim'd at *Brae-Mar*.

Pretender's Standard ſet up by *Mar*.

THE Death of the *French* King, which fell out at this Juncture, a little ſtunn'd the Party, and it ſeems put them upon conſulting about quitting the Enterprize for a Time, which ſome were for, and accordingly urg'd that they ſhould go home and wait the Pretender's Landing; but the Majority depending upon a General Inſurrection in *England*, were for going forward, reſolving in the mean While to ſend Meſſengers to the Pretender, to preſs his coming over to them with all Speed: Purſuant to this Reſolution, the Earl of *Mar* aſſumes the Title of Lieutenant General of the Pretender's Forces, and as ſuch publiſh'd the following Declaration:

Mar's Declaration.

OUR *Rightful and Natural King* James VIII. *by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our Oppreſſions, having been pleas'd to entruſt us with the Direction of his Affairs, and the Command of his Forces, in this his Antient Kingdom of* Scotland; *and ſome of his faithful Subjects and Servants met at* Aboyne, *viz. the Lord* Huntley, *the Lord* Tullibardine, *the Earl* Mariſhal, *the Earl* Southesk, Glingary *from the* Clans, Glenderule *from the Earl of* Broadalbine, *and Gentlemen of* Argyleſhire, *Mr.* Patrick Lyon *of* Auchter-Houſe, *the Laird of* Auldbaix, *Lieutenant General* George Hamilton, *Major General* Gordon, *and my ſelf; having taken into Conſideration*

ration his Majeſty's laſt and late Orders to us, find that as this is now the Time that he order'd us to appear openly in Arms for him, ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, and the Relieving of our Native Country from all its Hardſhips, that his faithful and loving Subjects, and Lovers of their Country, ſhould with all poſſible Speed put themſelves into Arms: Theſe are therefore, in his Majeſty's Name and Authority, and by Virtue of the Power aforeſaid, and by the King's ſpecial Order to me thereunto, to require and empower you forthwith to raiſe your ſenſible Men, with their beſt Arms; and you are immediately to march them to joyn me, and ſome other of the King's Forces, at the Invor *of* Brae-Mar, *on* Monday *next, in order to proceed in our March to attend the King's Standard, with his other Forces. Now is the Time for all good Men to ſhow their Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, whoſe Cauſe is ſo deeply concern'd, and the Relief of our Native Country from Oppreſſion and a Foreign Yoke, too heavy for us and our Poſterity to bear; and to endeavour the Reſtoring, not only our Rightful and Native King, but alſo our Country to its antient, free and independant Conſtitution, under him whoſe Anceſtors have reign'd over us for ſo many Generations. In ſo honourable, good and juſt a Cauſe, we cannot doubt of the Direction, Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo often reſcu'd the Royal Family of* Stuart, *and our Country from ſinking under Oppreſſion. Your punctual Obſervance of theſe Orders is expected; for doing of all which, this ſhall be to you, and all you employ in the Execution of them, a ſufficient Warrant.* Given at *Brae-Mar, September 9, 1715.* MAR.

ON the ſame Day he writes to the Bailiff of *Kildrummy*, complaining that his Men were re-

fractory; *Is not this the Thing*, ſays he, *we are now about, which they have been wiſhing this twenty ſix Years? And now when 'tis come, and the King and Country's Cauſe is at Stake, will they for ever ſit ſtill and ſee all periſh?* And having ſent an Order for his Lordſhip of *Kildrummy* to riſe, he ſwore by all that was ſacred, if they came not forth with their beſt Arms and Accoutrements, he'd burn all they had.

A few Days after comes out a Manifeſto in the Name of this worthy Earl, and his Adherents, an Abſtract of which may not be impertinent here.

Mar's Manifeſto. *HIS Majeſty's Right of Blood to the Crowns of theſe Realms* (ſay they) *is undoubted, and has never been diſputed or arraign'd by the leaſt Circumſtance or Lawful Authority. By the Laws of God, by the antient Conſtitution, and by the poſitive unrepeal'd Laws of the Land, we are bound to pay his Majeſty the Duty of loyal Subjects. Nothing can abſolve us from this our Duty of Subjection and Allegiance. Our Conſtitution has been ſunk amidſt the various Shocks of unſtable Faction, while in ſearching out new Expedients, pretended for our Security, it has produc'd nothing but daily Diſappointments, and has brought us and our Poſterity under a precarious Dependance upon Foreign Councils and Intereſts, and the Power of Foreign Troops. The late unhappy Union has encreas'd the Differences between his Majeſty's Subjects of* Scotland *and* England; *neither can we hope the Party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into Bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our Relief. Our Subſtance has been waſted in the late ruinous Wars, and we ſee an unavoidable Proſpect of having Wars continu'd to us and our Poſterity, ſo long as the Poſſeſſion of the Crown is not in the Right Line. The Hereditary Rights*

Rights of the Subject are now treated as of no Value; a pack'd-up Aſſembly, that call themſelves a Britiſh *Parliament, have, ſo far as in them lies, inhumanly murder'd their own and our Sovereign, by promiſing ſo great a Reward for ſo execrable a Crime; they have proſcrib'd worthy Patriots for their honourable and ſucceſsful Endeavours to reſtore Trade, Plenty and Peace to theſe Nations; they have empower'd a Foreign Prince (who, notwithſtanding his Expectation of the Crown for fifteen Years, is ſtill unacquainted with our Manners, Cuſtoms and Language) to make an abſolute Conqueſt of the Three Kingdoms, if not timely prevented, by inveſting himſelf with unlimited Power, &c. The Conſideration of theſe unhappy Circumſtances, with a due Regard to Common Juſtice, &c. has engag'd us in the preſent Undertaking, which we are reſolv'd to puſh to the utmoſt, and to ſtand by one another to the laſt Extremity, &c. And we earneſtly beſeech and expect (as his Majeſty commands) the Aſſiſtance of all our true Fellow-Subjects, to ſecond this our firſt Attempt. We declare we will endeavour to have ſuch Laws enacted, as ſhall give abſolute Security to us, and future Ages, for the Proteſtant Religion, againſt all Efforts of Arbitrary Power, Popery, and all its other Enemies; nor have we any Reaſon to diſtruſt the Truth and Purity of our holy Religion, or the known Excellency of his Majeſty's Judgment, as not to hope that in due Time good Example and Converſation with our Learned Divines will remove thoſe Prejudices, which we know his Education in a Popiſh Country has not rivetted in his Royal-diſcerning Mind. To conclude, We ſhall concur with our Fellow-Subjects in ſuch Meaſures as will make us flouriſh at Home, and be formidable Abroad, under our Rightful Sovereign and Antient Conſtitution, undiſturb'd by a Pretender's Councils and Intereſt from Abroad, or a reſtleſs Faction at Home.*

Deſign on *Edinburgh* Caſtle.

HAVING thus openly avow'd the Cauſe, they proſecute it as well as they can. Their firſt Attempt was againſt *Edinburgh* Caſtle, which they attempted to ſurprize. The Project was this: About eighty Perſons were to mount the Wall by the Weſt-ſide of the Caſtle, by Rope-Ladders provided for that purpoſe, which were to be pull'd up by ſome Soldiers belonging to the Garriſon, who had been corrupted. This Deſign was to have been executed *Sept.* 8. but was ſeaſonably diſcover'd by the Care of the Lord Juſtice *Clerk*, the Conſpirators being taken in the very Fact.

Conſpirators in *England* taken up.

THEIR Friends in *England* were not idle; but were happily prevented from doing all the Miſchief they deſign'd, by the timely apprehending ſome that were thought Chiefs in the Conſpiracy; as, Mr. *Harvey* of *Combe*, Mr. *Anſtis*, and Sir *William Wyndham*. Mr. *Harvey*, upon his being taken, ſtabb'd himſelf in two or three Places with a Penknife, but the Wounds did not prove mortal. Sir *William Wyndham* made his Eſcape from the Meſſenger, but was purſu'd by a Proclamation, in which it was aſſerted, *That on Peruſal of Papers found in his Cuſtody, it did appear he had entred into a moſt horrid and traiterous Conſpiracy, not only for the Encouragement of the Rebellion now carrying on in theſe Kingdoms in favour of the Pretender, but alſo for the abetting and promoting the intended Invaſion of theſe Kingdoms.* Ten Days after he ſurrender'd himſelf, and was committed to the *Tower*.

BRISTOL, that was to be made a Sort of Magazine for the Rebels, was ſecur'd from 'em by the Earl of *Berkley*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governour of that City. At *Bath* were ſeiz'd eleven Cheſts of Fire-Arms, an Hogſhead of Basket-Hilt Swords, three Pieces of Cannon,

Cannon, and Moulds to caſt Cannon, which had been buried in the Ground. Major General *Pepper* with a Regiment of Dragoons is ſent to *Oxford*, who ſeizing ſeveral Papiſts, and other Jacobites, prevented the Inſurrection deſign'd there; and by this Means (the Apprehending ſome of the Ringleaders, and the Flight of others) their Affairs in *England* did not ſucceed according to Deſire and Expectation.

Inſurrection in *Northumberland.*

IN the *North*, where all the Precaution was not us'd that might have been, the Conſpirators venture on in their Enterprize. The Earl of *Derwentwater*, Mr. *Forſter*, &c. to the Number of about Two hundred and fifty, rendezvous'd at *Plainfield* near *Rothbury*, *Thurſday*, *October* 6. From whence they march'd to *Warkworth*, about four Miles off *Alnwick*, *October* 7. On *Saturday* the Lord *Widdrington* joyn'd them with Thirty Horſe. On *Monday*, *October* 10. they were joyn'd with about Forty Horſe from *Scotland*. They ſtaid at *Warkworth* till *Thurſday*, *October* 14. when they left the Place, and came to *Morpeth*, under the Command of Mr. *Forſter*, Parliament Man for that County, and now the Pretender's Champion and General. The next Morning after their Arrival at *Morpeth*, viz. *October* 15. they drew up about the Croſs on Horſeback, and proclaim'd the Pretender (as they had done before at *Warkworth*) and at the ſame time invited all Sorts of Perſons to enter into his (the Pretender's) Service, promiſing them Twelve-Pence *per* Day, only the Presbyterians, whom they expreſly excluded from that Honour. When they left *Morpeth*, they were computed Three hundred ſeventy three. Their next March was to *Hexham*, where they ſtaid four Nights (from *October* 15. to the 19th) and there alſo proclaim'd their Maſter King of *England*. I know not of

any remarkable Piece of Chivalry they did in any of theſe Places, only their taking Priſoner one *Thomas Gibſon*, a Whiteſmith in *Newcaſtle*, who fell in with them between *Morpeth* and *Seton*, and was carried Captive from Place to Place, as the firſt Fruits of their Warfare. From *Warkworth* to *Morpeth* they ſet him on the bare Horſe pinion'd; and it ſeems as he was riding thro' *Morpeth* in this Condition, ſome of the Company took Occaſion to divert themſelves with the Priſoner, pointing at him, and calling him Names, he crying out, *For the Hope of Iſrael I'm bound with this Chain.*

THE Government was not unconcern'd at theſe Proceedings, but having Intelligence of the Riſing and Motions of the Rebels, ſent Lieutenant General *Carpenter*, with *Hotham*'s Regiment of Foot, *Cobham*'s, *Moleſworth*'s and *Churchill*'s Dragoons againſt them, who arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* about the 20th of *October*, and marching in Queſt of the Rebels, drove them out of the County into the Borders of *Scotland*, where they were joyn'd, firſt by three Troops of Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Kenmure*, and afterwards (*October* 22.) by a larger Body of Foot, about Fifteen Hundred, who had found Means to croſs the *Forth* under Brigadier *Mackintoſh*; but being purſu'd by the King's Forces, they made the beſt of their Way to *Lancaſter*, and troubled this Part of the Country no more.

So little paſs'd that was memorable during the Diſturbances in *Northumberland*, that I ſhall be excus'd if I paſs them over the more lightly. No Blood was ſhed that I know of, and little Violence offer'd by any of the Rebels in their Tours up and down the Country; only where they found Arms and Horſes to their purpoſe,

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they made bold with 'em. The old ruin'd Caſtle of *Holy Iſland* was ſurpriz'd by *Lancelot Errington* of *Newcaſtle*, a Maſter of a Ship, who by a Stratagem got the few Men in the Caſtle on Board his Veſſel, and ſo took Poſſeſſion; but the Governour of *Berwick* ſending a few Soldiers (attended by ſeveral Loyal Gentlemen of the Town, who went Voluntiers) the next Day, diſpoſſeſs'd the new Commandant *Errington*, and took him and his Company Priſoners. But their chief Deſign undoubtedly was upon *Newcaſtle*, where they expected Money and Friends, and conſiderable Supplies of both; and had they ſucceeded, it would, no Queſtion, have been of the utmoſt Conſequence to them, and very much encourag'd and encreas'd their Party, as it would probably have involv'd the Town in Confuſion and Blood; for what by the Sword of the Enemy without, and of Confederates within aſſiſting them, and the Sword of Authority for reducing the Place, had it fallen into the Rebels Hands, who can tell the Deſolations that would have enſu'd! *Preſton*'s Miſeries were but a Taſte of what *Newcaſtle* might have expected: 'Tis like they would have had little to do, but (as *Titus* at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*) ſtand by and ſee the Inhabitants tear and deſtroy one another. But the Divine Providence averted the Blow; the Enemy was diſcourag'd from ſo much as attempting any thing, by the Care and Vigilance of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and of the Deputy Lieutenants and Magiſtrates of the Place; among whom I may be allow'd to ſay, Mr. Alderman *White* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by a Zeal becoming a Patrician, and for which he has the Thanks and good Wiſhes of all the Inhabitants, except ſuch as regret the Deliverance.

Deſign againſt *Newcaſtle* prevented.

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Deſign againſt *Newcaſtle* prevented.

THE

March of the Rebels from *Kelso* to *Preston.*

THE Rebels being at *Kelso* upon the Borders, where our Account left them, and where they were joyn'd with their *Scotch* Friends, hearing of General *Carpenter's* Approach, left that Place (*October* 27.) and march'd to *Jedburgh*, and from thence (*October* 29.) to *Harwick*, when about three hundred of the *Scotch* took Occaſion to ſeparate from them, moſt of whom ſurrender'd to the Government at *Lemmington*. At *Harwick* they had a Conſultation among themſelves, Whether to ſtand their Ground and fight General *Carpenter*, or march off? *Mackintoſh* was for the firſt, urging the Superiority of their Number; that the longer they deferr'd an Engagement, the greater Oppoſition they were like to meet with; and that their flying before ſo inconſiderable a Number of Troops, would at once diſpirit their Friends, and encourage their Enemies: But General *Forſter* was againſt fighting, till they were joyn'd with a better Body of Horſe, and moſt of the other Chiefs gave into this Opinion. Some were for going back to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Earl of *Mar* in reducing *Argyle*; after which all *Scotland* would be their own. This was propos'd and urg'd by the Earl of *Winton*; but the Lord *Widdrington* was for marching into *Lancaſhire*, to joyn their Friends there *: Which accordingly they did, leaving *Harwick* (*October* 30.) From whence they march'd to *Langholm*, from thence to *Brampton*, and ſo to *Penrith* (*Nov.* 2.) where they ſeiz'd what Money they could get belonging to the publick Revenue (to the Value, 'tis ſaid, of about Seventy Pounds) From thence to *Appleby* (*Nov.* 3.) thence to *Kendal*, (*Nov.* 4.) next to *Kirby Lounſdale* (*Nov.* 6.) and ſo to *Lancaſter* (*Nov.* 7.) In moſt of which Places

* *Vide* Political State, *Nov.* 1715. *p.* 495.

they

they proclaim'd the Pretender as King of *England*, with Drums beating, Colours flying, the *Scotch* being diſtinguiſh'd by blue and white Cockades, and the *Engliſh* by red and white; part of the Rebels were at *Lancaſter* on Lord's-Day (*Nov.* 6.) when, 'tis ſaid, one of their Chaplains preach'd from *Iſaiah* xiii. 15, 16. *Every one that's found ſhall be thruſt thro', and every one that's joyn'd to him ſhall fall by the Sword: Their Children alſo ſhall be daſh'd to Pieces before their Eyes, their Houſes ſhall be ſpoil'd, and their Wives raviſh'd.* Whether this be Matter of Fact I know not, the ſame having been ſaid to have been done at *Warkworth* in *Northumberland*, which I ſuppoſe to be a Miſtake. At *Lancaſter* they proclaim'd the Pretender (*Nov.* 8.) and having ſeiz'd ſeven or eight Pieces of Cannon, and fitted them with Carriages, they march'd to *Preſton* (*Nov.* 9.) being diverted from their Deſign on *Liverpool* by the extraordinary Zeal and Diligence of the Inhabitants, who planted ſeventy Pieces of Cannon about the Town, laid part of the Avenues under Water, and threw up a Line where the Water would not reach. In their March to *Preſton* they were joyn'd by about fifteen hundred, moſt of *Lancaſhire*; and being thus reinforc'd, and not knowing whither immediately to fly, they barricade the Place as well as they could, and wait the coming of the King's Forces under General *Carpenter* and General *Wills*; and having ſuſtain'd a ſort of a Fight, moſtly out of the Windows, in which they kill'd and wounded about One hundred and twenty of the King's Troops, they reſign'd themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion, to the Number of about One thouſand four hundred and ſeventy; of *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen about Seventy five, *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen One hundred forty

Their Surrender at *Preſton*.

forty three; the reſt being Vaſſals, Servants and private Men.

Battle at *Dumblain.*

FEW need be inform'd, that at the ſame time (*viz. Nov.* 13.) the Duke of *Argyle* attack'd the greater Body of Rebels in *Scotland* commanded by the Earl of *Mar*. The Attack was made with the utmoſt Diſadvantages (the Duke having but between three or four thouſand againſt about thrice that Number; and his Men being ſurpriz'd before they were all form'd, and many of them out of Breath by marching up an Hill) and yet it pleas'd God (to whom the Iſſues of Battel belongs) ſo far to ſuccceed it, as to prevent the Deſign of the Rebels, which was to croſs the *Forth*; on which Account it muſt be eſteem'd of no ſmall Uſe in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, whether it may be call'd a Victory, or not; for the Conſequence of it was, that inſtead of attempting to preſs forward, *Mar* and his Men retire to *Perth*. At *Perth* they wait for the Pretender with his Forces, and ſet themſelves to fortify the Place for their greater Safety. *December* 22. their Sovereign arrives at *Peterhead* in a *French* Ship, formerly a Privateer of eight Guns, but brought no Succours as was expected, only a few Gentlemen and Officers in his Retinue; among whom was the Lord *Tinmouth*, Son to the Duke of *Berwick*, and Lieutenant *Cameron*. The Lieutenant was immediately ſent Expreſs to *Perth*, where he arriv'd on the 26th; and on the 27th *Mar*, and other Chiefs, went to wait on the Pretender at *Fetteroſſe*, and kiſs his Hand. Soon after his Landing the Chevalier puts forth his Declaration; in which 'tis obſervable, he does not ſo much as diſſemble a Regard to the Proteſtant Religion, nor once promiſe directly to maintain it; notwithſtanding the Epiſcopal Clergy at *Aberdeen* welcome

welcome their Sovereign, as they call him, with an Addreſs, preſented by ſome of their Body at *Fetteroſſe*, *Dec.* 29. In which, among many other remarkable Things worthy of themſelves, they take Notice, that "God had train'd up his Ma- "jeſty from his Infancy in the School of the Croſs; "and as this School has ſent forth the moſt illu- "ſtrious Princes, as, *Moſes*, *Joſeph* and *David*; "ſo they intimate their Hopes are, he'll be like "them." Adding, "That his princely Virtues "are ſuch, that, in the Eſteem of the beſt "Judges, he was worthy to wear a Crown, tho' "he had not been born to it: And for themſelves "(Good Men) they are confident it would be "his Majeſty's Care to make his Subjects an "happy People; to ſecure to them their Reli- "gion, Liberties, *&c.* and unite all in true "Chriſtianity, according to the Goſpel of Jeſus "Chriſt (*i. e.* as interpreted by the Church) "and the Practice of the primitive Chriſtians (*i. e.* met at *Trent* in the middle of the Six- teenth Century). Addreſſes of the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Aberdeen*.

FROM *Fetteroſſe* he went to *Brechin* (*Jan.* 2.) and paſſing thro' *Kinmaird*, *Glames*, *Dundee*, &c. he came to *Scone* near *Perth*. Some obſerv'd, that in none of the Places he paſs'd thro' he at- tended the Epiſcopal Worſhip, but conſtantly employ'd his own Confeſſor (Father *Innys*) to ſay the *Pater-Noſter* and *Ave-Mary*'s, *&c.* for him; which would have offended many of his Friends, had he not atton'd for it, in a good Meaſure, by turning out and impriſoning the Presbyterian Miniſters, where they fell in his Way. On *Monday* (*January* 9.) he made his publick Entry on Horſeback into *Perth*; and in the Evening returning to *Scone*, fix'd his Council, and iſſu'd out ſeveral Proclama- tions, *viz.* One for a General Thankſgiving

for

for his Arrival; another for Praying for him in Churches; a third for the Currency of all Foreign Coin; a fourth for the Meeting of a Convention of States; a fifth for all ſenſible Men from ſixteen to ſixty, to repair to his Royal Standard; a ſixth for his Coronation, which was fix'd to the 23d of *January*.

Conſultation at *Perth* about fighting.

BUT before all this Work could be diſpatch'd, the *Dutch* Forces arrive at *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*; which was not grateful to his Majeſty of *Scone*, ſpoiling the Ceremony of his Coronation, and hindring the Meeting of his Convention of States, Parliament, *&c.* Inſtead of which fine Things, the only Matter now under Conſideration was, how to provide for their own Safety; and the grand Queſtion debated was, Whether to maintain the Place, and fight the Duke of *Argyle*, or Retreat? And if we may believe a late Pamphlet, call'd, *An Account of the Proceedings at* Perth, moſt of the Officers and Soldiers, eſpecially the Highland Clans, were for the former, and indeed ſo keen for fighting, that they could ſcarce be reſtrain'd. On the 30th of *January* they had a Council of War open'd by the Pretender himſelf, who ſpoke as well as he could, and in a few Words propos'd the Caſe; which *Mar*, with all the Eloquence he was Maſter of, enlarg'd upon: He told them, "Their great "Expectation was from the Duke of *Ormond*'s "Landing in *England*, as had been concerted "between his Grace and himſelf; but that the "Duke and his Friends had met with many "Diſappointments, and their Deſigns were be-"tray'd; that the Duke had ſail'd to the Coaſt "of *England*, and gone on Shore, but found his "Friends ſo diſcourag'd, that 'twas impoſſible "to bring them together; that his Grace was "gone back to *France*, where Preparations were

"making

" making for his Deſcent on *England*, with ſuch " Power as would protect their Friends, *&c.* " That theſe Things had brought the Weight " of the War upon *Scotland*, and not only ſo, " but had caus'd the Succours which they had " expected from Abroad to be ſtopt, and re- " ſerv'd for the D—— of *O*——*d*'s Expedi- " tion, which was now in great Forwardneſs in " the Weſtern Parts of *France*; upon which he " propos'd it to be conſider'd, what was beſt to " be done, and whether they could maintain " themſelves in their preſent Situation, *&c.*" This was follow'd with warm Debates, and with ſuch Solicitations for Fighting, by ſundry Gentlemen, that *Mar* and others, who were reſolv'd againſt hazarding a Battel, were forc'd to adjourn the Council till next Morning: In the mean time, and a few Hours after, a ſelect Number got together, to whom *Mar* urg'd the Neceſſity of Retreating; and, as 'tis ſaid, offer'd the following Particulars as the Reaſons of his Motion:

(1.) THAT a Foreign Prince, who had not yet declar'd openly in Favour of the Enterprize, but was firm in their Intereſt, had ſignify'd, that it was his Deſire they ſhould by no means put it to the Hazard yet, but make as handſome a Retreat as poſſible, and withdraw as many as could by Shipping into *France*, where they ſhould be protected; and that when the *Imperialiſts* were thoroughly embark'd in a War with the *Turks*, that he would openly aſſiſt.

(2.) THAT the Train of their Councils being diſcover'd in *England*, the Aſſiſtance they depended on from Abroad was at preſent rendred impracticable: That the Proceedings againſt their Friends in *England* had diſconcerted their Meaſures: That the People now in the Go-

Government had had Time to raiſe Money, Troops, and get over Foreign Forces, &c.

(3.) THAT they ow'd their Diſappointment to a curſed Aſſembly of Whigs (meaning the Parliament) but theſe could ſit but for a limited Time, which would ſoon expire; and ſuch were the Affections of the People to the Pretender, that they were aſſur'd they might expect the next Houſe of Commons would be quite another Sort of People, &c.

UPON theſe, and the like Conſiderations, it was reſolv'd not to Fight, but to Retreat, and indeed to quit the Deſign at preſent; tho' this was conceal'd from their Followers, who knew nothing of the Matter, and ſuppos'd they only waited for a more favourable Opportunity of engaging the Forces that purſu'd them. But their real Intention was to ſeparate: And accordingly they march'd from *Perth* to *Dundee*, and *Montroſs*; where having receiv'd Intelligence (*Sept.* 14.) that part of the King's Army was advancing towards them, the Pretender order'd the Clans that remain'd with him to be ready to march about Eight at Night towards *Aberdeen*, where he aſſur'd them a conſiderable Force would ſoon come to their Aſſiſtance from *France*. At the Hour appointed for their March, the Pretender order'd his Horſe to be brought before the Door of the Houſe where he lodg'd, and his Guard to mount, as if he intended to accompany them to *Aberdeen*, but at the ſame time he ſlipp'd privately out on Foot, went to the Earl of *Mar*'s Lodging, and from thence by a By-way to the Water-ſide, where a Boat was waiting, and carried him and *Mar* on Board a *French* Ship; and about a Quarter of an Hour after, two other Boats carried the Earl of *Melford*,

The Pretender's Flight from *Scotland*.

ford, the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant General *Sheldon*, and ten other Gentlemen, on Board the ſame Ship, and then they hoiſted Sail, and put to Sea: And this ended the Rebellion in a great Meaſure. The Heads having made their Eſcape, the reſt were put to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could: Some were taken, ſome diſpers'd, and ſome, 'tis kown, both of *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Juſtice purſu'd; as, the Earl of *Derwentwater*, and the Lord *Kenmure*, who were Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, *February* 24. Sundry more of an Inferior Rank ſuffer'd alſo; which yet are ſo few in Proportion to the Number of the Conſpirators, and the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, that Mercy has rejoyc'd over Judgment in an extraordinary Manner, ('tis pity it ſhould be with no better Effect). The Earl of *Derwentwater* died avowing his Treaſon, asking Pardon for his pleading Guilty at his Trial; by which he intimates, he had made too bold with his Loyalty, having never any other for his Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, but King *James* III. whom he looks upon as a Perſon capable of making his People Happy, (*i. e.* by making them Papiſts). And notwithſtanding all his Lordſhip ſaid at his Tryal to excuſe his Riſing and taking up Arms, he now owns he intended to ſerve his King (the Pretender) and his Country by it; hoping by his Example to have induc'd others to their Duty; and having pray'd for the Reſtoration of the antient Conſtitution, and Welfare of his Country, he begs his Life may be accepted as a ſmall Sacrifice towards it: And 'tis ſaid, he would have had the Undertaker for his Funeral to have provided him a Silver Plate for his Coffin, importing, That he died a Sacrifice for his Lawful Sovereign. And in the like unrelenting Temper died the Lord *Kenmure*, and

Execution of *Derwentwater*.

moſt of the reſt that have hitherto ſuffer'd: Nor can it be deny'd, that the whole Party thro' the Nation ſtill retain the ſame Spirit, notwithſtanding the Hand of Heaven was ſo manifeſt in their Defeat. The Judgments of God, and the Mercy of their Prince, are loſt upon them; and if we may judge of them from their preſent Conduct, they ſeem with a Heart hardned like *Pharaoh's*, reſolv'd to purſue the Deſtruction of their Country, or periſh in the Attempt.

I ſhall not undertake to trace them thro' all their Steps of Enmity and Oppoſition to the Government ſince the Rebellion (that would require a Volume) as by their Tumults and Mobs on Anniverſaries of publick Rejoycing, (*viz.*) the * 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the † 20th and ‡ 30th of *October*, the ‖ 28th and ** 29th of *May*; in which Jacobite Fury and Rudeneſs appear'd barefac'd, and in ſome Places acted a Part that many of their own Friends could not pretend to juſtify. The Mob at *Oxford* (*October* 30, 1716.) made a little more Noiſe than ordinary, being brought under Examination both by a Committee of Council, and a Committee of the Houſe of Lords; the Occaſion of which was the different Repreſentation of that Matter to the Lord *Townſend*, by the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of the Corporation on one Part, and the Commanding Officer of a Regiment quarter'd there at the time, on the other Part: The Officer, Major *D'Offranville*, complains, "That "when the Regiment was drawn up on the "Coronation-Day in order to fire, ſome of the "Mob flung Dirt at their Men: That on his "Royal Highneſs's Birth-Day he obſerv'd that "not one Bell rung throughout the Town; and

* The King's Acceſſion. † The King's Coronation. ‡ The Prince's Birth-Day. ‖ The King's Birth-Day. ** The Reſtoration.

"when

"when his Men were drawn out to fire, abun-
"dance of the Mob cry'd out, *Down with the*
"*Roundheads.* After he had discharg'd his
"Rounds, and dismiss'd the Regiment, he and
"most of the Officers, with several Loyal Gen-
"tlemen of the Constitution-Club, repair'd to
"the *Star*-Inn to drink his Majesty's, the Prince's,
"and other Loyal Healths; but immediately
"the House was assaulted, and the Windows
"broke with Stones." The Vice-Chancellor and Mayor at the same Time sent up their Account of the Affair, with several Depositions relating thereto: Upon which the Fact was examin'd, as I said, by some Lords of the Council and Parliament, both which agreed, "That
"the Heads of the University and Mayor of
"the City neglected to make any publick Re-
"joycing on the Prince's Birth-Day; but some
"of the Collegiates, with the Officers, being
"met to celebrate the said Day, the House
"where they were was assaulted, and the Win-
"dows broken by the Rabble; which was the
"Beginning and Occasion of the Riot that en-
"su'd."

THE like Disaffection to the Government had been shewn at *Cambridge* this same Year (*May* 29.) only this latter Mob proceeded with greater Insolence, crying out in the Streets, *Roundhead, Calvinhead-Club, Presbyterians, Rump*, &c. carrying green Boughs and Branches of Oaks; in which Frenzy they assaulted *Clare-Hall*, shatter'd the Windows, broke into the House, abusing the Masters and Fellows (as Whigs) and after a great many Disorders committed by them, they spent their Fury at Night upon a Meeting-House of the Dissenters, breaking the Windows to pieces, tearing down the Pews, Seats, Clock, &c. I mention these Instances only as a Speci-

men of what is practis'd by the Party up and down the Nation, with more or leſs Freedom, according to the Encouragement, or Connivance they meet with in their reſpective Towns: Nor is the 10th of *June* left out of their Calendar, when they openly affront their Sovereign, by celebrating the Birth-Day of the Pretender; which, 'tis known, has been done in many Places with ſo much Impudence, that had not the Spirit of the Party been check'd, and their Courage a little quell'd, that Day would have been as much diſtinguiſh'd by the Faction, as the 28th of *May* by the moſt Loyal in the Kingdom.

NOR were any more forward in ſuch Inſults, than ſome of the pardon'd Rebels; who, after the Royal Mercy had return'd them their forfeited Lives, continu'd in the ſame traiterous Purpoſes, inſomuch that the publick Quiet was frequently interrupted by them. At *Holywell*, ſome who had been juſt diſcharg'd from *Cheſter*-Caſtle by the Act of Grace, immediately joyn'd ſome diſaffected Perſons, and wrought them into a Tumult; who went about the Streets with Muſick playing before them, *The King ſhall enjoy his own again*, crying, *Down with the Rump*, and impudently drinking the Pretender's Health on their Knees, whom alſo they proclaim'd in their riotous Manner *.

BUT as theſe were the weaker Efforts of a Party the Providence of God has very much diſabled, and which ſeem to carry no great Danger nor Terror in them to a Government ſo well eſtabliſh'd, I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a more particular Account of them; but go on to obſerve, that whilſt the Rabble

* Annals of King *George*, An. 4. p. 37.

were

were thus playing at ſmall Games, their Principals and Maſters were at work, contriving greater Miſchiefs, reviving their old Plots againſt the Liberties and Religion of their Country; of which Nature I may reckon, as the firſt remarkable Inſtance, the deſign'd Invaſion from *Sweden*.

THE Government having had ſeveral Intimations of the Intriegues of its Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, his Majeſty (*Jan.* 29, 1716-17.) thought fit to lay the Matter before the Council, *viz.* That he had certain Intelligence of a Deſign, concerted between ſome Miniſters of a Foreign Prince and the Jacobite Party at Home, to encourage an Invaſion from *Sweden* of theſe Kingdoms, in Behalf of the Pretender: And the next Morning, about Two a-Clock, the *Swediſh* Miniſter (Count *Gyllenborg*) was put under an Arreſt in his own Houſe, and his Papers ſeiz'd. Several more were taken up at the ſame time, as Mr. *Charles Cæſar* of *Hertford*, Sir *Jacob Banks*, &c. This Affair made a conſiderable Noiſe, alarm'd the Foreign Miniſters particularly; who preſently repair to Court to know the Reaſon of ſuch a Proceeding againſt the Count, deſiring he may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambaſſador, according to the Law of Nations: And a Day or two after a Letter was written to each of the Foreign Miniſters, by Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, in the following Terms:

SIR,

THE King having receiv'd reiterated Advices, and having inconteſtable Proofs of very dangerous Practices, which have been manag'd for ſome time paſt by the Count de Gyllenborg, *the King of* Sweden's *Miniſter here, and which plainly tended*

to foment a Rebellion of his own Subjects, which was to be ſupported by Foreign Troops: And the ſaid Count having by ſuch a Conduct violated the publick Faith, &c. his Majeſty, to put an End to ſuch Practices, and to preſerve the Peace and Tranquility of his Dominions, judg'd it neceſſary to cauſe the ſaid Count de Gyllenborg *to be ſeiz'd, &c.*

AT the ſame time Orders were diſpatch'd to Mr. *Leathes*, Envoy of *Great Britain* at the *Hague*, to apply (with all imaginable Secrecy) to the States to obtain Leave to arreſt and ſecure Baron *Gortz* (an Accomplice in the ſame Deſign, and chief Manager of it) in the Name of the King of *England*. The Baron hearing what had happen'd to his Friend and Correſpondent in *England* (Count *Gyllenborg*) and being apprehenſive of Danger to himſelf, haſten'd from the *Hague* in a Poſt-Chaiſe, and went directly to *Amſterdam*. 'Tis ſaid, he was not gone many Minutes from his Houſe, before a Detachment of the Blue Guards was ſent to arreſt him. The *Britiſh* Reſident purſu'd him to *Amſterdam*; and finding, when he came there, that the Baron had made his Eſcape, he employ'd Commiſſary *Vleertman*, with another Gentleman, to follow him, who overtook him at *Arnheim*, and there ſeiz'd him and his Papers: By which the Intriegue was laid open in the Particulars of it, and the Part this Agent had in it; being employ'd in buying Arms, hiring Ships, *&c.* He himſelf own'd, he had bought Ten Thouſand Arms, which he had ſent to *Sweden*, and that he was to buy Ten Thouſand more.

THE Parliament meeting the 20th of *February*, his Majeſty opens the Matter before them in his Speech to both Houſes: In which, having

having taken Notice of the advantageous Alliances he had concluded, he adds, "It seem'd "reasonable to expect, that such a Situation "of Affairs at Home and Abroad should have "recover'd from their Delusion all such of our "Subjects, as had unhappily been seduc'd by "the Craft and Wickedness of desperate and "ill-designing Men, and thereby have afford-"ed me the Opportunity I desir'd of follow-"ing the natural Bent of my own Inclina-"tions to Lenity, by opening this Session with "an Act of Grace; but such is the obstinate "and inveterate Rancour of a Faction among "us, that it hath again prompted them to "animate and stir up Foreign Powers to di-"sturb the Peace of their native Country, "they will chuse rather to make *Britain* a "Scene of Blood and Confusion, and to ven-"ture even the putting this Kingdom under "a foreign Yoke, than give over their darling "Design of imposing a popish Pretender. I "have order'd to be laid before you Copies "of Letters, which contain a certain Account "of the projected Invasion." And the next Day the Letters were accordingly laid before the House, and immediately publish'd to the Nation: Which, as they contain a full Proof of the Plot I'm now speaking of (*viz.* to assist the Jacobites, and restore the Pretender) I shall recite some Passages out of them.

IN the first of these Letters from Baron *Sparre* to Count *Gyllenborg*, dated from *Paris*, *September* 25, 1716. the Baron expresses himself thus: "I will acquaint you, that three "Days ago I came to know by a Canal that "'tis needless to explain to you, that you "have entred upon Business with some Lords "of the Pretender's Party; that they take it

" for granted, that you are empower'd by the " King our Maſter; and, in a Word, that " you are inclin'd to believe his Majeſty will " eſpouſe the Intereſt of that Prince. In the " firſt place I tell you, that I ſhall be charm'd " with it; and then, that it is not from a " Motive of Curioſity that I enquire whether " what I have heard be true, but rather that " I may co-operate with you, tho' indirectly, " till I have Powers like yours. Do me the " Friendſhip to let me know what there is " in it as ſoon as poſſible: I flatter my ſelf " you will find your Account in it."

IN a Letter from Count *Gyllenborg* to Baron *Gortz* (*London, September* 29, 1716.) he tells him, " I deſign to have ſeveral Pieces ready " againſt the Meeting of the Parliament—— " the Intimations which have been made me " terminate in bringing in the Pretender; " but as I can't enter upon the Affair with- " out an expreſs Order from the King my " Maſter, I have avoided coming to Parti- " culars.—— Ten Thouſand Men tranſported " hither from *Sweden* would do the Buſineſs, " and I believe we ſhall not be at a Loſs " for Money."

AND in another to the ſame Perſon (*October* 23.) he adds, " There is no Medium, " either *Bremen* or the *Hanoverians* muſt be " ſacrific'd; the latter is not ſo difficult, con- " ſidering the general Diſcontent: Ten Thou- " ſand Men would be ſufficient. The Male- " contents require but a Body of regular " Troops, to which they may joyn them- " ſelves; that Body being tranſported in the " Month of *March*, when the Eaſterly Winds " reign, and when it will not in the leaſt be " dream'd on, will cauſe a general Revolt.

" We

"We must also have Arms for between Fifteen and Twenty Thousand Men, and as many Accoutrements as can be got; for as to Horses we shall have them here. Your Excellency will easily judge of what Advantage it will be to the King; and, in my poor Opinion, we have no other Course to take, unless we will be willing to give up every thing. My Friends are not in Town, but I shall speak with them some Day the next Week, and then your Excellency may expect their Scheme. In the mean time I am of Opinion, that if the Business could be done without making use of a great many *English*, there would be the less Risque run. I don't know whether I ought to touch upon what the King must have further; for tho' they will endeavour to do every thing that I ask, yet as it must be by a Contribution rais'd among a great many, it may happen there may be a *false Brother*. Our Men once landed, I answer for the rest: In a Country where Nine in Ten are Rebels, and where every thing abounds, we can want nothing. Your Excellency will be very soon inform'd more exactly of the rest. In the mean time, I beg you will remember what I had the Honour to write to you the last Summer concerning one *N*———: No Body knows the Sea and the Coast better than he; and he is a brave and an honest Man. In short, it will be a glorious Enterprize; which will put an End to all our Misfortunes, by ruining those that are the Authors of them. As to the Time, the sooner the better; after the Trade to *Gottenberg* is ended, or before it begins."

AND

AND in another Letter (*October* 27.) he adds, "I have ſince ſpoken with two of the "Principals, who have aſſur'd me there ſhall "be Sixty Thouſand Pounds ready, as ſoon "as I ſhall ſhew them a Line from the "King, with Aſſurances under his own Hand, "that he will aſſiſt them. As for the Scheme, "I ſhall have it in a few Days. One of "them who is the chief Promoter of this "Affair aſſur'd me, that he had nothing to "apprehend from the Regent on this Occa-"ſion."

IN a Poſtſcript to another Letter (*November* 4.) he tells Baron *Gortz*, "My Friends "are in Town. An Expreſs that came to "them Yeſterday from the Pretender, will "make it ſtill eaſier for them to form a "Plan. To Day they are about it: There "are only five or ſix of the moſt conſidera-"ble Perſons conſulted. They would know, "in caſe we agree, whether the Money muſt "be paid here or elſewhere, or if it muſt "be ſent over to *Sweden*. They have alſo "ask'd me if we have any occaſion for Sea-"Officers, for they could furniſh us with good "ones."

IN a Letter from *Guſtavus Gyllenborg* (Brother to the Count) dated from the *Hague*, *November* 17. he takes notice of a Letter from the Duke of *Ormond* to Baron *Gortz*; in which the Duke ſays, "The King his Maſter has "order'd him to let him (*Gortz*) know, that "he expects ſhortly a Supply of Money; that "he will then remit Sixty Thouſand Pounds "Sterling to the King of *Sweden*, leaving the "Diſpoſal of it to him. Mr. *Sparre* takes "notice that my Lord *Mar* has a Couſin Ger-"main, nam'd *Erskins*, with the *Czar*, who

"is

"is Physician and Privy-Councellor to that "Prince; which Favourite has written Let-"ters to my Lord *Mar*, giving an Account, "that the *Czar* will not attempt any thing "against the King of *Sweden*; that he has "fallen out with his Allies; that he can ne-"ver be Friends with King *George*; that he "hates him mortally; that he is sensible of "the just Cause of the Pretender; and that he "wishes for nothing more than a Conjunc-"tion, in which he may be able to restore him "to his Dominions. He adds, The Preten-"der has sent to desire Baron *Sparre* to pro-"cure him Leave to retire to *Stockholm*; "M. *Sparre* has return'd Answer, That as "this would be the same thing as declaring "War by Sound of Trumpet, it would ab-"solutely spoil the Business in Hand."

BARON *Gortz* to Count *Gyllenborg* (*Nov.* 23.) tells him, "The Principals of the pre-"sent Court of *Avignon* offer on the Part of "their Master Sixty Thousand Pounds Ster-"ling, to engage the King's (King of *Swe-"den's*) Affection." He adds afterwards, "We "must have Money; and after that, we must "know what they are in a Condition to do in "*England*; and what Part they expect the "King should take to put this Design into "Motion, and to support it."

GYLLENBORG in a Letter (*December* 4.) acquaints Baron *Gortz*, that he had been with one of the Principals (*i. e.* in this Plot) and gives a particular Account of a large and free Conversation he had with him, too long to be here transcrib'd. Among other things, he takes notice, that the Principal complains that the King of *Sweden* had not given them the Assurances they expected: "We have been

"press'd

"preſs'd (ſays he) on the Affair of Money, "and to form a Scheme, and we have actu- "ally apply'd ourſelves both to the one and "the other. In the midſt of all this, here "are three Poſts arriv'd from *Avignon*, and "no further Signs are ſhewn of ſo much "haſte: This Change has very much per- "plex'd us." And having expoſtulated with him about the Hazard they run——he adds; "But what doth the King of *Sweden* riſque? "Is not our Government his Enemy as far "as it is in it's Power? Doth it not aſſiſt "his Enemies in every reſpect? And will it "not aſſiſt them more this enſuing Year? "What can be ſaid againſt him, if, after "the Example of *Scipio*, he carries the War "into their Country, who have been deſirous, "and are ſo ſtill, to carry it into his? This "Diverſion will be ſo much the greater, as "it will be unexpected; and there is more "Reaſon to hope for Succeſs, becauſe the "whole Country is diſaffected. 'Tis alſo pro- "bable, that half the Army will be disband- "ed by the Parliament of *England*. As to "the Colour (ſaith he) which the King of "*Sweden* may put upon his Enterprize, I "ſhall always have the Opinion which Ba- "ron *Gortz* himſelf would have me entertain "of his Scheme, *viz.* that the King of *Swe- "den* intends ſincerely to reſtore the Cheva- "lier." He adds, I entirely agree, that the "maintaining the Church of *England* ought "to be one Topick in the King of *Sweden*'s "Manifeſto. This is the more neceſſary, be- "cauſe it would ſerve to ſettle the Minds of "ſuch as are diſturb'd about the Chevalier's "Religion."

BARON

BARON *Gortz* (*December* 11.) anſwers, and tells his Friend (Count *Gyllenborg*) "That it "is ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt Motives to us; we "have no need of a Spur, as I run no riſque "with you. Sir, I will freely tell you, that "even before my Departure from *Sweden* we "were already on our Side diſpos'd to this "Expedition: There is reaſon to believe "theſe Diſpoſitions are now encreas'd; there "is therefore now no other Queſtion, but "of Means to ſatisfy our juſt Deſire of Re-"venge. We have in *Sweden* Troops more "than enough for the Expedition; but that "which ſuſpends our entring upon Action is, "that (1.) We have not the Ships neceſſary, "*&c.* (2.) We know not how 'tis propos'd "to maintain the Troops when they arrive "at the Place intended. (3.) Horſes muſt "be found to mount the Cavalry. (4.) We "muſt know what Number of Troops are "neceſſary, in order to regulate thereby the "Armament of the Ships." He further tells him what preliminary Negotiations they had upon theſe Matters at the Court of *Avignon*; that he had actually made Bargains for ſeveral Ships, all arm'd and rigg'd, to be deliver'd at *Gottenberg* in the Beginning of *March*. He concludes, preſſing a ſpeedy Reſolution; and that they who mean well, ſhould labour to get half the Troops that are now on Foot in *England* broken, and to hinder any Naval Armament 'till the Month of *May*, &c.

IN a Letter from Baron *Gortz* to Count *Gyllenborg* (*Paris*, *January* 8.) the Baron ſends him a Copy of the full Power the King of *Sweden* had entruſted him with to treat with all Perſons, and conclude whatever might be

for

for his Majesty's Service. And thus they go on with their Correspondence.

THE next Step was to procure Money for Transports; and accordingly Twenty Thousand Pounds were remitted to *Avignon* to be paid to Baron *Gortz*, and great Contributions rais'd in *France* at the same time. "One Hundred Thousand Livres (saith Ba- "ron *Gortz*) are paid me down, and the rest "promis'd to be paid me in *Holland* to the "Sum of One Million of Guilders." He adds, "I will go and give Orders for working "with all Dispatch possible on the Men of "War, and for providing and bringing toge- "ther all Necessaries."

THESE were the Preparations they were making upon the Plan form'd, when the whole was brought to light, and now laid before the Parliament, and expos'd to the View of the Nation. I have given a more particular Account of this Correspondence, that the Fact (the real Plot and design'd Invasion) might appear supported with sufficient Evidence; which is the more necessary, because a Party among us, as their manner is, took Liberty to ridicule it, and run it down as a Sham, a politick Contrivance, the better to countenance the keeping up a standing Army: But with what modesty this has been pretended, appears from what has been said.

THE Letters being read in Parliament, both Houses express their Resentment in suitable Terms: "We cannot but with the "highest Indignation (say the Commons) look "upon the obstinate and inveterate Rancour "of them, who are again endeavouring to "embroil their native Country in Blood and

"Con-

"Confusion: It is astonishing to find, that "any who call themselves Protestants, can be "so inflexible and restless in their Endeavours "to impose upon us a popish Pretender, and "rather venture to subject the Kingdom to "a foreign Yoke, than depart from their a-"vow'd Designs of altering and subverting "the present happy Establishment in the pro-"testant Succession. We adore the watchful "Eye of Heaven, that has so wonderfully "guarded and protected your Sacred Person, "and cannot too much extol the Wisdom "and Vigilance that has been us'd in so early "and seasonably discovering this desperate "Attempt." And to the same purpose the "Lords express'd themselves on that Occa-"sion."

UPON this all Commerce with *Sweden* is prohibited, and a Squadron of Thirty two Ships immediately fitted out; which sail'd *April* the 2d, and arriv'd in the Sound *April* the 12th. At the same time Orders were given to have the Land Forces in a Condition to receive the Enemy, and defend their Country; but our Fleet reaching the Sound whilst the *Swedes* were in their Harbours, block'd them up, so that they could not put in Execution what they had been so long projecting. Whilst the *British* and *Danish* Fleets, which were now joyn'd, lay before *Carelscroon*, it was propos'd to bombard the *Swedish* Fleet, but that was found impracticable: However their main Errand succeeded; and the King of *Sweden* finding himself thus disappointed, and in danger of feeling the Resentment of his *Britannick* Majesty, not only desists from his Enterprize, but endea-

vours

vours a Peace with him, which was propos'd and brought about by the Mediation of the Regent of *France*; the King of *Sweden* being oblig'd, as a Preliminary, to diſown the Intriegues of his Miniſters, *Gortz* and *Gyllenborg*, which he did, or rather the Regent of *France* in his Name: And this put an End to an Affair, in which the Jacobites had a mighty Confidence, and leaves another Memorandum to celebrate the Divine Providence, who has deliver'd, and ſtill delivers. *Hitherto the Lord has helped us.*

THIS Storm being blown over, the Jacobites ſit down in Diſcontent, waiting for a more favourable Opportunity, tho' ſtill continuing their Affronts to a Government, that had, with an unparallell'd Mercy and Lenity, protected and ſpar'd them. To ſay no more of the uſual and continu'd Inſolencies on State-Holidays, by the Green-Bough and White-Roſe Rabble; the Jacobite Meetings (ſet up and maintain'd contrary to Law) became more frequented than ever: In which they not only pray for the King (meaning the Pretender) but, 'tis ſaid, own his Title with ſome Solemnity, and enter into a Sort of Aſſociation in his Favour.

SOME of the Preachers in theſe Meetings have been proſecuted, as Dr. *Welton* and Mr. *Haws*; the laſt of which had, for Twenty five Years together, kept a Meeting of Jacobites in his own Houſe, over againſt the Royal Palace of St. *James's*. One of the ſame Stamp, tho' far more infamous, being a Perjuror rather than a Nonjuror (Mr. *Biſs*) had the Boldneſs to arraign the Government in an Harangue in a publick Church. The

Account

Account given to the Government, attested upon Oath before a Justice of Peace, was, "That Mr. *Biss*, a Clergyman, in a Sermon "preach'd at St. *George's* Church, near the "City of *Bristol*, on *Sunday* the 16th of "*March* (his Text being the Four last Verses "of the xcivth Psalm) had utter'd seditious "and treasonable Assertions to the Effect following, *viz.*

"*THAT God did never approve, however he* "*did allow, of usurping Powers: That to prove* "*this he need not go into any other Country, but* "*confine himself to our own Island, where Usur-* "*pation has prevail'd these Thirty Years past;* "*and that we have had neither King, Laws,* "*nor Parliament since King* James *the Second's* "*Days; and that if at that Time we could* "*have been patient, we need not have been* "*brought into a Snare by a Snake in the Grass,* "*accompanied by some Thousands of* Dutch "*Boors; who, instead of doing us good, did* "*involve us in a bloody and expensive War:* "*And instead of our Lawful and Rightful So-* "*vereign, we must have a poor diminutive Worm* "*(the Prince of* Orange) *set up in his Place;* "*and it has not yet pleas'd God to turn his* "*Hand, but still Wickedness is encourag'd by* "*what they call a Law, secur'd by what they* "*call a Parliament. In the mean time all the* "*World knows that the Right of the Crown is* "*hereditary, and that the King is accountable* "*to none on Earth: And why? —— Because* "*the Law saith He can do no Evil, and so is* "*accountable to none but God only. But, alas!* "*it was ill in the Days of old* Noll, *but now* "*it is worse; for a Clergyman dares not warn* "*the People under his Charge of the Danger they*

"*are*

" *are in; nor pity the poor Gentlemen that are* " *fled, even for Conſcience ſake, but Priſons muſt* " *be our Portion. And who is to blame for all* " *this Miſery, but the deviliſh Diſſenters; who,* " *like the Heathens of Old, brought over a King* " *from* Germany? *So now they have brought* " *over a Man from* Brunſwick, *whom the Whigs* " *call their Gracious King* George. *Nothing,* " *my Friends, has been done by Law ſince the* " *Death of that poor betray'd Prince, the Father,* " *and nothing will be right 'till we ſee our Maſter* " *return; whom, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks,* it has " pleas'd God to make perfect thro' Sufferings. " *As for the preſent Poſſeſſor, he's oblig'd to joyn* " *with Turks, Heathens and Infidels, to ſave* " *himſelf; and by no other Reaſon than that* " *inſignificant Thing they call the Parliament.* " *Our Church is in Danger and tumbling about* " *our Ears, and muſt in a ſhort Time yield to the* " *Kirk.*"

UPON this Information the Government ſent two Meſſengers to *Briſtol* to apprehend Mr. *Biſs*, which was accordingly done on *Sunday* the 6th of *April*; but the Congregation reſcu'd him from the Meſſengers, threatning them with Violence, and 'tis believ'd they had been their Death, had not the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers come in ſeaſonably to their Aſſiſtance. A few Days after the Meſſengers had Notice that Mr. *Biſs* was conceal'd at a Gentleman's Houſe, thirty Miles from *Briſtol*, where they ſeiz'd him, and on *Tueſday* the 15th of *April* brought him up Priſoner to *London*; where he behav'd himſelf with uncommon Rudeneſs and Effrontry.—— For this and other Crimes (of which he was convicted at *Salisbury* in the County of *Wilts*, at

at *Aylesbury* in the County of *Bucks*, at *Wells* in the County of *Somerset*) he was sentenc'd to stand in the Pillory, to be imprison'd four Years, *&c.* I shall only observe, that this wretched Creature had taken the Oaths to King *George*, being Rector of *Portbury*, and *St. George* in the County of *Somerset*.

I shall trouble the Reader but with one Particular more of this Nature, as a further Instance of the desperate, implacable Spirit of these Men. One *James Sheppard*, a Boy of about Eighteen Years of Age, Apprentice to a Coach-Painter in *Devonshire-street*, undertook to assassinate the King; and to forward his Design, wrote a Letter to Mr. *Leak*, a Nonjuring Clergyman. The Letter being remarkable, I shall here insert it.

SIR,

FROM the many Discontents visible throughout the Kingdom, I infer, that if the Prince now Reigning could be by Death remov'd, our King being here, he might be settled on his Throne without much Loss of Blood: For the more ready effecting of this I propose, that if any Gentleman will pay for my Passage to Italy, *and if our Friends will intrust one so young with a Letter of Invitation to his Majesty, I will on his Arrival* Smite the Usurper in his Palace. *In this Confusion, if sufficient Forces may be rais'd, his Majesty may appear; if not, he may retreat, or conceal himself, 'till a fitter Opportunity. Neither is it presumptuous to hope this may succeed, if we consider how easy it is to cut the Thread of human Life; how great Confusion the Death of a Prince occasions in the most peaceful Nation; and*

and how mutinous the People are, how desirous of a Change. But we will suppose the worst; that I am seiz'd, and by Torture examin'd: Now, that this may endanger none but my self, it will be necessary the Gentleman who defrays my Charge to Italy, *leave* England *before my Departure; that I be ignorant of his Majesty's Abode; that I lodge with some Whig; that you abscond; and that this be communicated to none. But be the Event as it will, I can expect nothing less than a most cruel Death; which, that I may the better support, it will be necessary that, from my Arrival to the Attempt, I every Day receive the Holy Sacrament from one who shall be ignorant of the Design.*

JAMES SHEPPARD.

MR. *Leak*, upon reading of the Letter (left for him with his Maid) fearing it might be a Trick put upon him, threw it into the Fire; but, upon further Consideration, thought fit to acquaint Sir *John Frier*, an Alderman, with it, who advis'd him to seize the Person when he came for an Answer: Which he accordingly did, and the Youngster being carried before Sir *John*, own'd the whole Matter, and wrote from his Memory a Copy of the Letter above, which he said he believ'd was exactly the same as the Original. On this he was committed to *Newgate*, and thence remov'd into the Custody of one of his Majesty's Messengers; and on the 6th of *March* he was brought to his Trial at the *Old-Bailey*. Many Depositions were taken of what pass'd when the Prisoner was examin'd at the Lord *Sunderland*'s Office. The most particular Account of him was by Mr. *De la*

la Hay, who depos'd, That the Prisoner being examin'd, did acknowledge to this Effect:

"THAT he was the Son of *Thomas* and "*Mary Sheppard* of *Southwark*: That his Fa- "ther dying when he was about five Years "of Age, he remov'd down to *Abbot Lang-* "*ley* in *Hertfordshire*, went to School to one "Mr. *Hews*, was afterwards remov'd and put "to School at *Mitcham* in *Surrey* by Dr. *Hench-* "*man* his Uncle by the Mother's Side, and "afterwards sent down to *Salisbury*, went to "School to Mr. *Hales*, there continuing a- "bout three Years, and was afterwards put "Apprentice: That while he was at *Salis-* "*bury* he had imbib'd the Principles he then "acted upon, by Conversation with his Fel- "low-Scholars; who, in the Time of the "Rebellion in the *North*, wish'd the Preten- "der might have Success; and that he was "confirm'd in his Opinion by reading some "Pamphlets, and particularly one entitled, "*A Vindication of the Bishop of* Exeter. He "own'd he carried a Letter and deliver'd it "to Mr. *Leak*'s Maid, and that the Copy "he wrote before Sir *John Frier* was a true "Copy as near as could be: That he had "three Years ago resolv'd upon the Design to "assassinate his Majesty when Opportunity "offer'd. He own'd, that by the King (in "his Letter) he meant the same Person "whom they call'd the Pretender, and by "the Usurper the Person whom they call'd "King *George*." And in a Paper found in his Trunk, suppos'd to be a Draught of the Letter above, were these Expressions; "How "meritorious an Act will it be to free these "Nations from an Usurpation they have lain "under

"under these Nine and Twenty Years! And "that he thought it might be requisite, that "while his Majesty (*i. e.* the Pretender) "should be absent from *Avignon*, some Per- "son should be found resembling him that "should personate him there, lest the Ru- "mour of his Departure from *Avignon* should "awaken this Inquisitive and Suspicious "Court."

THE several Depositions being read, and the Prisoner owning every thing, and refu- sing to make any Defence, after due Form, Sentence was pass'd upon him to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. It was observ'd, du- ring all his Examinations, he never shew'd the least Commotion or Disorder of Mind; and that he receiv'd the awful Sentence with an Air of Assurance that surpriz'd the Spec- tators, smiling several times in Derision of it. And in the same obstinate, unrelenting Temper he persever'd to the last, in Confi- dence of the Merit of his Cause and Suf- ferings; being buoy'd up and encourag'd by his Confessor *Orme*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who attended him during his Confinement in *Newgate*, and absolv'd him at the Gallows.

WHILST these lower Agents are employ'd, sometimes by Direction of their Superiors, and sometimes, no Question, at their own Motions, stronger Heads are at work, ano- ther Way, pursuing more plausible Schemes, and contriving to effect by Power and Force, what others aim'd at by secret Villany and Fraud.

THE last Attempt they have yet made, was in the Year 1719. when, it seems, they had found Means to engage the King of

Spain,

Spain, and other Potentates, to eſpouſe them. Providence indeed cut them ſhort, and did not allow them to proceed according to their Plan; but however ſo much was done, as ſuffic'd to explain their Project to the Nation, and leave us ſenſible what it was they had contriv'd againſt us, had not the Hand of Heaven blaſted them. The full Plot ſeems to have been this: To cut off the Regent of *France*, excite an Inſurrection, and bring about a Revolution in the Kingdom (by which means *Spain*, being really poſſeſs'd of the Power of *France*, might be in a Condition the better to execute their Deſigns againſt us); the King of *Sweden*, (after the taking of *Frederickſhall*) to invade *North Britain*; the Duke of *Ormond* to make an Attempt upon *Ireland* with Eight Thouſand Men, to be tranſported from the Bay of *Biſcay*; and ſo, by their united Force, ſet the Pretender upon the Throne. What Steps were taken for this purpoſe, I am now to relate.

IN *France* the Mine was very ſeaſonably and very providentially diſcover'd. The Abbot *Porto Carrero*, and the Marquis *de Monteleone*'s eldeſt Son, having hir'd a Poſt-Chaiſe to carry them to *Madrid* (accompanied only with Sir *Joſeph Hodges*, who paſs'd for an *Engliſh* Lord) it happen'd that the Chaiſe broke down about two Leagues from *Paris*; but the Poſtilion ſo well refitted his Chaiſe, that he made a-ſhift to drive them to the End of their firſt Stage, where they took freſh Horſes and Driver. The Poſtilion having obſerv'd, that, during the Accident, his Paſſengers were in more Concern for their Port-

Portmanteau than for themſelves, and that one of them ſaid, *I had rather loſe an Hundred Thouſand Piſtoles, than my Portmanteau*, upon his Return to *Paris* told the Paſſage; and he, or ſome for him, acquainted the Government with it: Upon which the Regent ſent after them. The Meſſengers overtook them at *Poictiers*, and not only arreſted their Perſons, but ſent their Portmanteau directly away to *Paris*; in which were found ſeveral Letters plainly importing a Conſpiracy againſt the Government. Upon this, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Prince *de Cellamare*, was arreſted (*December* 9, *N. S.*) and his Papers, Cheſts and Boxes, remov'd to the Palace Royal, there to be examin'd. The next Morning the Council of Regency was extraordinarily aſſembled, and the Abbot *Du Bois* began with acquainting them with the Notice he had receiv'd of a black Conſpiracy, "That it had been brewing a "long while; that a Deſign was laid to "open the Way for a *Spaniſh* Inroad through "four Provinces; that the Regent's Life "was ſtruck at; that the Prince *de Cella-* "*mare* had a ſecret Correſpondence in the "Kingdom; that he gave Penſions to the "Mutineers in the Provinces; and that he "printed in his own Houſe a Manifeſto in "the Name of his King." The Abbot proceeded, and read a Liſt of the *French* Lords concern'd in this Affair to a conſiderable Number; ſeveral of whom were that Night ſeiz'd and carried to the *Baſtile*, and Orders diſpatch'd for ſecuring others in the Provinces: And in a circular Letter to ſeveral Miniſters reſiding at the *French* Court,

and

and particularly to the Earl of *Stairs*, the Abbot tells him, "They had under the "Ambaſſador's own Hand (the Prince *de* "*Cellamare*) Proofs of the Abuſe of the Cha-"racter with which he is veſted in exciting "the King's Subjects to revolt: And that "they had (in the Packet found in the "Portmanteau mention'd before) the Plan "of the Conſpiracy he had form'd to de-"ſtroy the Government." And at the ſame time two Letters of the Ambaſſador's to Cardinal *Alberoni* were printed, too long to have a Place here.

AND thus one Part of the Project was ſpoil'd; which, tho' directly form'd againſt others, was, no queſtion, levell'd alſo againſt us, and conſequently muſt be eſteem'd an Affair, in which we had too much Concern not to own the Hand of Providence therein. Cardinal *Alberoni*, in a Letter to the Prince *de Cellamare* (*December* 14, 1718.) orders him, "That before he depart he ſet fire to all "his Mines:" And had they been fir'd with the hop'd-for Succeſs, the haughty Cardinal would have been in a greater Capacity for glutting his Revenge upon us; but the Chaiſe broke. And I know not why we may not acknowledge the ſame Hand here, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did when the Lord took off their Chariot-Wheels *, *The Lord fighteth for* Iſrael.

IN the mean time the two grand Confederates proſecute their Deſign, and advance towards the Execution of it as faſt as they can, notwithſtanding this Rub in their Way.

* *Exodus* xiv. 25.

The

The King of *Sweden* had engag'd, as before obſerv'd, to make an Invaſion upon *Britain*, after the Reduction of *Frederickſhall*. (The Certainty of which appear'd from ſome of Baron *Gertz*'s Papers, as we are told.) Accordingly he reſolves (to the Surprize of all that knew not his Intentions) to viſit *Norway*, at a very unfit Time of the Year for ſuch an Enterprize; and having diſpatch'd General *Arenſfield* with about Nine Thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; he himſelf, with the Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, follow'd with about Twenty Thouſand more. They ſoon paſs'd the *Serguſund*, and after that the *Stromſtadt*, without much Oppoſition, and penetrated into the open Country as far as *Chriſtiana*; and the *Danes* being in no Condition to oppoſe them, his Majeſty prepares to attack *Frederickſhall*, having given Orders to General *Arenſfield* at the ſame time to attack *Drontheim*. But here it pleas'd the Sovereign Diſpoſer of Affairs, *in whoſe Hand is the Soul of every living Thing, and the Breath of all Mankind*, again to interpoſe, and put an End to a Life that had been employ'd, of late, in a Series of Enterprizes, not only troubleſome to his Neighbours, but deſtructive to his own Kingdom; for whilſt he was viewing the Works of the Place (*Frederickſhall*) he receiv'd a Small-Shot from the Citadel in his Head, of which he inſtantly died (*Dec.* 10. *O. S.* 1718.) and in that very Hour his Thoughts periſh'd.

THE King of *Spain* is now left to ſtand alone, as the laſt Reſort of the Jacobites, and only Undertaker in this Cauſe; and it ſeems is reſolv'd, notwithſtanding all theſe Diſappointments,

pointments, to carry the Matter as far as he could in purſuit of his Engagements, and the long concerted Meaſures; being puſh'd on, it's ſuppos'd, by the Duke of *Ormond* (now at the Court) and others of the Remains of the late Rebellion, who had fled from the Juſtice of the Nation. Accordingly a Fleet is fitted out to invade *Britain*; the firſt Account of which was brought by a Captain of a Ship, who arriv'd at *Cork* in *Ireland* the 28th of *March* (1719.) and in a Letter to the Lord Lieutenant acquainted him, "That he was at *Cadiz*, and ſaw a conſi-"derable Number of Forces embark'd on "Twenty One Tranſports; and that the "current Reports of that Place were, that "the Embarkation conſiſted of Five Thou-"ſand Foot and Six Hundred Horſe, with "Fifty Thouſand Small Arms, and a great "Quantity of Powder: That on the 27th "of *February*, *O. S.* theſe Tranſports ſail'd "under the Convoy of two *Spaniſh* Men of "War of Sixty Guns each, and the *Grey-"hound* (formerly taken from the *Engliſh*) of "Twenty Two Guns, after Six Gentlemen "in Diſguiſe had gone on Board the Com-"modore; and that it was ſaid they were "deſign'd for *Corunna*, there to be joyn'd "by more Forces, and then to proceed to "invade *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. The "Tranſports were extreamly crowded, abun-"dance of Men being forc'd to lie on the "Decks; and the cut Straw for the Horſes "being pack'd up in Bags, they were obli-"ged to laſh the Bags along-ſide the Ships, "expos'd to the Weather, *&c.* On the 2d "of *March* he (the Captain) ſail'd from *Ca-*

"diz, and on the 7th ſaw a Fleet of Ships "Twenty five Leagues W. N. W. of Cape "St. *Vincent*, ſtanding Southwards, one of "which making towards him, he knew to "be the *Greyhound*; by which, and by the "Number of the Ships, he found it to be "the Fleet he ſaw ſail from *Cadiz*: That "the *Spaniards* in *Cadiz* expreſs'd great Joy, "that the Catholicks in *Great Britain* and *Ire-*"*land* were now to be reliev'd."

SOON after came Letters to the Government from Capt. *Cavendiſh* from *Gibralter*, concerning the ſailing of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *Cadiz*. About the ſame time Advice was brought from Port *Mahone*, that the *Royal Oak* (belonging to the Squadron near *Reggio*) had taken a *Spaniſh* Man of War, and the Captain (*Cammock*) narrowly eſcaping, had left behind him the Pretender's Commiſſion conſtituting him Admiral of the White, together with other Papers.

THE Government being ſufficiently appriz'd of the Deſign, neglect not to provide for the publick Safety (tho' it muſt be granted, this Attempt did not ſtrike much Terror). Upon the Intelligence Sir *George Bing* had of the Matter, he ſends away the Regiments of *O'Hara* and *Sankey* for *England*; neceſſary Orders were given to have the Forces at Home in Readineſs; Two Thouſand Five Hundred Auxiliary Troops are brought over from *Holland*, under the Command of Major General *Keppel*, Brother to the late Earl of *Albemarle*: But the ſame Providence that had ſo often favour'd us, and watch'd over us, now again appear'd in our Safety, and the Defeat of our Enemies; for

for on the 29th of *March* Letters at *Paris* from *Madrid* brought Account, "That the "*Spaniſh* Fleet had been entirely diſpers'd "by a Storm; that Don *Baltazar de Gue-* "*vara*, the Admiral, had got into *Cadiz*; "that ſome of the Ships had put into *Lis-* "*bon*, and into other Ports of *Portugal*; ſome "into *Vigo*, and ſome into *Corunna*, in a ve- "ry miſerable Condition; and ſome were ſtill "miſſing."

BUT the Matter did not end here; for about the Beginning of *May* Advices from the North of *Scotland* agreed, "That ſome "*Spaniards* had been landed there: That "they had ſecur'd ſome ſmall Fortifications, "and had been joyn'd by a few Highlanders "and other Rebels: That their chief Body "lay near *Donan*, and that that Caſtle was "in their Hands: That Captain *Boyle*, in the "*Worceſter*, with ſome other Ships, came be- "fore the Place, and routed them." But the beſt Intelligence was from a *Spaniſh* Lieutenant that was taken at *Donan*, who gave the Lord *Carpenter* this Account, "That "there came but two Frigats, which brought "Three hundred and ſeven *Spaniards*, being "a Detachment of Twelve Men out of each "Company of Don *Pedro de Caſtro's* Regi- "ment of Foot, conſiſting of Twenty four "Companies, beſides two of Grenadiers: "That they ſail'd from Port *Paſſage* the 8th "of *March*, *N. S.* and landed in *Kintail* the "27th of *April*, *N. S.* having not ſeen any "of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in their Way: That "a Lieutenant Colonel commanded them, "with ſix Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and "ſix Enſigns: That three Lords and their

"Ser-

" Servants came along with them: That " they brought Two thouſand Arms; and, " he was told, had deliver'd out Four hun- " dred. The Lieutenant Colonel was aſſur'd " that Ten thouſand Men were there in " Arms ready to joyn them; but finding " very few, he kept the two Frigats there " ten Days, reſolving to go off again, tho' " at laſt he was prevail'd with to ſtay, and " let them ſail. He judg'd they could have " but little Ammunition left, and that thoſe " that remain'd would endeavour to get into " the Iſles in order to eſcape."

ON the 5th of *June* * a Body of the King's Forces, under the Command of Major General *Wightman*, march'd in queſt of the *Spaniards* and Rebels from *Inverneſs*; and having halted one Day at the Head of *Lochneſs*, came up with them on the 10th, about Four in the Afternoon, at a Place call'd the *Paſs of Glenſhill*, which they gave out they were reſolv'd to defend; but upon the Approach of the King's Troops they immediately deſerted it, and retir'd to another Paſs call'd *Strachell*, where they were yet more advantageouſly poſted. The General having view'd the Scituation, made his Diſpoſition for the Attack. The Rebels Forces conſiſted of Three hundred *Spaniards*, One thouſand ſix hundred and forty Highlanders, and a Corps, a Part of Five hundred Highlanders, who were poſted on an Hill, in order to make themſelves Maſters of the Baggage. The King's Forces (actually engaged) it's ſaid, did not exceed Eight hundred and

* *Vid.* Annals of King *George*, Ann. 5. p. 252, 254.

fifty,

fifty, beſides One hundred and twenty Dragoons, and One hundred and thirty ſix Highlanders. About Five a-Clock on the Tenth of *June* (the Pretender's Birth-Day) the Left-Wing was order'd to begin the Attack; and the Rebels always as they had fir'd their Muſquets skipp'd off, and never venturing to come to a cloſe Engagement, were driven from Rock to Rock, the King's Troops chaſing them before 'em, for about three Hours, 'till they gain'd the Top of the Hill; where they (the Rebels) were immediately diſpers'd.

WE had not then any certain Account of the Enemy's Loſs (and I know not that we have ſince) only we heard that the Lord *Seaforth* was wounded in the Arm, and the Lord *George Murray* in the Leg. On our Side there were Twenty one Men kill'd, and One hundred and twenty one wounded, Officers included. The King's Troops lay on their Arms all Night, in order to bring off the Wounded, and march'd the next Morning to *Greenſhill*: Where, about Two in the Afternoon, the *Spaniards*, to the Number of Two hundred and ſeventy four, ſurrender'd Priſoners at Diſcretion, and delivered up all their Arms and Ammunition. Their Commander ſaid, That *Seaforth* and the reſt were ſhifting for themſelves; and he believ'd they would endeavour to get off as ſoon as poſſible, at the Sea-Port Towns, where they could hope to have Friends to let them eſcape. The General (*Wightman*) after the Battel, having ſecur'd his Priſoners (who were afterwards ſent to *Edinburgh*-Caſtle) takes a Tour through *Seaforth*'s Country, to

terrify

terrify the Guilty, and protect the Innocent, as he expreſs'd it in his Letter to the Lord *Carpenter*. In the mean time the chief Leaders of the Rebels, *Seaforth*, *Mareſchal* and *Tullibardine*, make their Eſcape to the *Lewis* or *Orkney* Iſlands, leaving their Followers to ſhift for themſelves. And this put a Period to this laſt Rebellion, without much Blood or Terror, Providence having baffled the Projectors in every Part of their Scheme, only permitting a few Straglers, which I ſuppoſe had never joyn'd their main Fleet, to appear among us, to proclaim their Deſign, and make us the more ſenſible of our Deliverance. *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

AND thus I have finiſh'd the Account I propos'd of the Plots and Conſpiracies againſt our Religion and Liberties, and have trac'd it from the Reformation to the preſent Day, through every Reign: By which it appears, how induſtrious our Enemies have been to deſtroy us! How watchful the Divine Providence to deliver and ſave us! And I hope there will need little Exhortation to the proteſtant and pious Reader here to ſet up his *Ebenezer*, to acknowledge and celebrate the Divine Providence: *If it had not been the Lord on our Side, now may* Iſrael *ſay* (and *England* ſay) *If it had not been the Lord who was on our Side, when Men roſe up againſt us, they had ſwallowed us up quick; when their Wrath was kindled againſt us, then the Waters had over-whelmed us, the Stream had gone over our Soul: But bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth; our Soul is eſcaped, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers; the Snare is broken, and we are eſcaped.* Let every

every True *Briton*, Proteſtant and Chriſtian, own this; and with Hands, Eyes, and Hearts lift up to Heaven, give God the Glory of his own Work. *Hitherto the Lord has helped us.*

Some eminent Strokes of Providence in the ſeveral Deliverances before mention'd.

BUT I leave the Reader to ſuch Reſentments, as the Nature of the Subject exacts from him: My Province is properly that of an Hiſtorian, and therefore Reflections of another Nature muſt be omitted: I ſhall only juſt touch upon ſome of the more eminent Strokes of Providence in all this Salvation, for aſſiſting the Reader's Gratitude, and this ſhall be a Concluſion to the whole Diſcourſe. A great deal of Providence was ſeen when the Work was ſet on Foot; and God firſt brought back our Captivity (I mean at the Reformation). It pleas'd that God that dwelt between the Cherubims, then to ſhine forth; and 'tis evident to a diligent Obſerver, that there has been τὸ θεῖον, ſomething Divine, eminently ſo, in our Safety ever ſince.

THE Occaſion of the Breach between King *Henry* VIII. and the Pope, *viz.* the Divorce, was remarkable, and no queſtion may be conſider'd as an Affair under the ſpecial Influence of Providence.

Firſt, THE Pope grants a Diſpenſation to the King to marry his Brother's Widow, contrary to the Law of God; which he did upon politick Views, thinking thereby to ſecure the Kings of *England* moſt firmly in his Intereſt, when their very Title to their Crowns depended upon the papal Power: But this Fetch of carnal Policy prov'd his Ruin; for afterwards, when the King has recourſe to

to the ſame Power to undo what he had done, and ſues for a Divorce, he was under a Neceſſity of denying him, or diſobliging the Emperour, who at that Time had him under the Laſh: Which enrag'd the King to that degree, that he reſolv'd to turn his Back on *Rome*. And thus Providence over-rul'd the Pope's Policy, and the King's Paſſions, to bring about a moſt Glorious Revolution.

AND I can't but reckon it a very kind and ſpecial Providence, that watch'd over Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the main Inſtrument in the Reformation. *Gardiner*, who was his mortal Enemy, and ſeveral more Accomplices with him, often conſpir'd his Deſtruction; drew up Articles againſt him; accus'd him to the King as the great Cauſe of Hereſy, and Patron of Hereticks *; and when they thought they had gain'd their Point, the King himſelf ſteps in, and reſcues him from Ruin: Which he did Time after Time, to the utter Confuſion of his Enemies; and with ſuch peculiar Marks of Affection and Friendſhip to the Biſhop, that I cannot but look upon it as pure Deſign of Providence that touch'd the Heart of the King, and gave him Favour in his Sight.

ANOTHER Inſtance of Providence favouring the Reformation, I'll borrow from Dr. *Heylin* †, *viz.* "That a violent raging "Fever in Queen *Mary*'s Days took off ſuch "a Number of the Prieſts, that a Multi-

* *Vid. Strype's* Memorial of *Cranmer*, p. 109. † Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 251.

"tude

" tude of the Churches were unſerv'd, and " no Curates to be got for Money." He adds, " God ſo order'd it, that by the Death " of ſo many of the preſent Clergy, a Door " was open'd for the preaching of ſounder " Doctrine, with far leſs Envy and Diſplea- " ſure from all Sorts of People, than if it " had been otherwiſe. Within leſs than the " Space of Twelve Months, almoſt one half " of the *Engliſh* Biſhops had made void their " Sees: Which (ſays he) with the Death of " ſo many Prieſts in ſeveral Places, did much " facilitate the Way of the Reformation, that " ſoon follow'd." Thus God was pleas'd to remove out of the Way, by his own immediate Hand, ſuch as were more like to obſtruct his Work, and thereby make Room for others.

Of the like Nature I may reckon the ſhort Life of that bloody, perſecuting Princeſs Queen *Mary*, and the Preſervation of her Siſter and Succeſſor Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding the Danger ſhe was in. The Queen had no great Affection for her: She was the great Hope of the Reformers, and the Dread of the Papiſts; was impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and deſign'd for the Scaffold; and yet Providence prevents the Miſchief, by ſtirring up King *Philip*, Queen *Mary*'s Husband, to intercede for her; which he did, tho' 'tis thought there was more of a politick Intereſt in it, than Tenderneſs to the Life of that Princeſs.

I will add one Example more to the ſame purpoſe, out of the late pious Biſhop of *Sarum* *,

* Hiſtory, *Part* III. *p.* 291.

(a ma-

(ὁ μακρόθυμος) "When the Light ſeem'd almoſt "extinguiſh'd in one Place, it broke out in "another; by which it was ſtill kept ſhining "ſomewhere; ſo there was a Sanctuary o-"pen'd, to which thoſe who were forc'd to "fly from one Place, might in their Flight "find a Covert in another from the Storm. "In the Beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, "by the breaking off the *Smalcaldick* League, "by the taking off the Elector of *Saxony*, and "the Landgrave of *Heſs*, and by the *Inte-*"*rim*, the Reformation ſeem'd to be almoſt "extinguiſh'd in *Germany*. In this Church "it was at that Time advanc'd, and we "kindly receiv'd thoſe that were forc'd to "fly hither for Shelter. And now in the "Year before the Death of this King, there "was not only a Revival, but a laſting Set-"tlement procur'd in *Germany* to the Refor-"mation there, ſo that thoſe who fled from "hence, found a ſafe and kind Harbour in "all Places of the Empire:" Upon which he makes this Reflection, "That the Reforma-"tion was under a kind and watchful Pro-"vidence."

HOW much the ſame Providence was concern'd in conducting his Church and People through all the Dangers of Queen *Elizabeth*'s and King *James*'s, and the two *Charles*'s Reigns, may in part be inferr'd from the foregoing Account. Among other ſignal Inſtances, the Defeat of the Powder-Plot, the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, the Marriage of a Daughter of King *James* II. to the Prince *Orange*, and the Revolution of One Thouſand Six Hundred and Eighty Eight, ought never to be forgotten. And ſtill Providence ſeems

to

to follow us with the like Sovereignty and Grace; Witneſs theſe laſt great Deliverances, in which the Diſplays of a Divine Hand are almoſt as ſenſible, as if the Stars in their Courſe had fought againſt our Enemies, or *Hezekiah*'s Angel had been ſent to deſtroy them. The ſeaſonable Acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the Throne, which was as Life from the Dead: The Removal of the *French* King (the breaking that Rod of God's Anger) at ſo critical a Moment: The Diſappointment at *Dumblain*, where the Rebels General ſtood peeping over the Brow of an Hill, having neither Courage to purſue his Advantage, nor renew the Battle: The Flight of the *Northumbrians* before a few Troops, harraſs'd by long and haſty Marches, 'till they were ſurrounded at *Preſton*, and all made Priſoners at once: The taking off the King of *Sweden*; preſerving the Regent of *France*; and ſcattering the *Spaniſh* Armado. Theſe are ſuch evident Tokens of the Finger of God, as cannot be deny'd, and muſt not be overlook'd. They ſhow the tender Regard Providence has to our Welfare; and manifeſt a Care ſuperior to that which minds the falling Sparrow. And may our Great Deliverer ſtrengthen and perfect his own Work: May the ſame Sovereign Providence, that has done ſo much for us, yet protect us; be a Defence upon all our Glory: And as *David* pray'd for *Solomon*, *May thy Judgments, O God, be given to the King; thy Righteouſneſs to the King's Son: May he judge the People with Righteouſneſs, and break in Pieces the Oppreſſor. In his Days may the Righteous flouriſh, and abundance of Peace, as long*

long as the Sun and Moon endure: May all his Subjects bow before him, and his Enemies lick the Dust. And now, Bleſſed be the Lord God, the God of Iſrael, *who only doth wondrous Things: And bleſſed be his Glorious Name for ever, and let the whole Earth be fill'd with his Glory;* Amen *and* Amen *.

* Pſalm lxxii.

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